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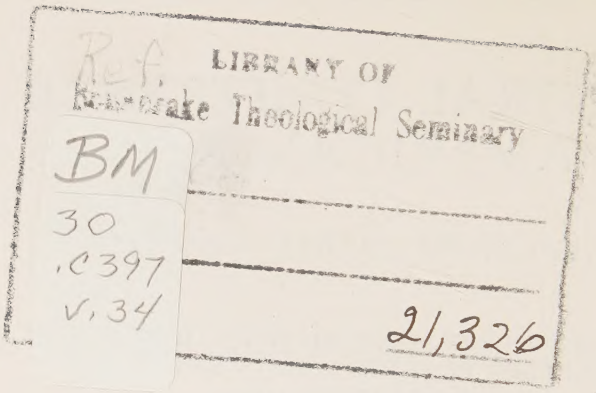
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

JUNE TWENTY-SIXTH TO JUNE THIRTIETH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOUR
CEDAR POINT, OHIO

VOLUME XXXIV

EDITED BY RABBI ISAAC E. MARCUSON



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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS

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OFFICERS

1923-1924

HONORARY PRESIDENT

KAUFMANN KOHLER, New York, N. Y.

PRESIDENT

ABRAM SIMON, Washington, D. C.

VICE-PRESIDENT

LOUIS WOLSEY, Cleveland, O.

TREASURER

MORRIS NEWFIELD, Birmingham, Ala.

RECORDING SECRETARY

ISAAC E. MARCUSON, Macon, Ga.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MORRIS S. LAZARON, Baltimore, Md.
1914 Madison Ave.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

1923-1924

Bettan, Israel
Franklin, Leo M.
Rauch, Joseph
Rosenau, William

1923-1925

Cohen, Henry
Cohon, Samuel S.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Mann, Louis L.

1923-1926

Calisch, Edward N.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Kory, Sol L.
Leipziger, Emil W.

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Kory, Sol L.
Leipziger, Emil W.

1924-1926

Philipson, David
Silver, Abba Hillel

1924-1925

Levi, Gerson B.
Magnin, Edgar F.

COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES, 1924-1925

CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVES UPON JOINT COMMISSIONS WITH THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Commission on Religious Education

ENELOW, HYMAN G.
ETTELSON, HARRY W.
GROSSMAN, RUDOLPH
HELLER, MAX
KOCH, SAMUEL
MARX, DAVID
MENDELSOHN, S. FELIX
RAUCH, JOSEPH
SCHULMAN, SAMUEL,
SLONIMSKY, HENRY

Commission on Synagog Pension Fund

STOLZ, JOSEPH, *Chairman*
GOLDENSON, SAMUEL H.
HIRSCHBERG, ABRAM
MARCUSON, ISAAC E.
NEWFIELD, MORRIS
WOLSEY, LOUIS

Commission on Tracts

GOLDENSON, SAMUEL H., *Chairman*
BETTAN, ISRAEL
FEUERLICHT, MORRIS M.
HIRSHBERG, SAMUEL
LEVY, FELIX A.
STERN, NATHAN

Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College

MARX, DAVID
WITT, LOUIS

STANDING COMMITTEES

Arbitration

Cohen, Henry, *Chairman*
Fineshriber, William H.
Hecht, Sigmund
Heller, Max
Koch, Samuel
Levi, Harry
Marx, David
Mendes, F. DeSola
Newman, Louis I.

Church and State

Calisch, Edward N., *Chairman*
Lefkowitz, David
Levi, Charles S.
Rauch, Joseph
Salzman, Marcus
Wise, Jonah B.

Alabama—Moses, Alfred G.
Arkansas—Rhine, A. B.
California—Magnin, Edgar F.
Colorado—Friedman, Wm. S.
Connecticut—Tedesche, Sidney S.
Delaware—Levinger, Lee J.
Dist. of Columbia—Simon, Abram
Florida—Kaplan, Israel L.
Georgia—Solomon, George
Illinois—Fram, Leon
Indiana—Skirball, Jack H.
Iowa—Mannheimer, Eugene
Kentucky—Rauch, Joseph
Louisiana—Brill, Abram
Maryland—Israel, Edward L.
Massachusetts—Abrams, Samuel J.
Michigan—Waterman, Philip F.
Minnesota—Rothstein, Leonard J.
Mississippi—Kory, Sol L.
Missouri—Witt, Louis
Nebraska—Cohen, Frederick
New Jersey—Foster, Solomon
New York—Ranson, Marius
North Carolina—Rypins, Frederick I.
Ohio—Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Oklahoma—Blatt, Joseph
Oregon—Wise, Jonah B.
Pennsylvania—Feldman, Abraham J.
Rhode Island—Gup, Samuel M.
South Carolina—Raisin, Jacob S.
Tennessee—Stern, Richard M.
Texas—Barnston, Henry
Virginia—Mendoza, Louis D.
Washington—Koch, Samuel
West Virginia—Feinstein, Abraham
Wisconsin—Landman, Solomon
Canada—Merritt, Max J.

Contemporaneous History

Linfield, Harry S., *Chairman*
Brickner, Barnet R.
Heller, Max
Mann, Jacob

Curators of Archives

Englander, Henry, *Chairman*
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Morgenstern, Julian

Co-operation with National Organizations

Simon, Abram, *Chairman*
Calisch, Edward N.
Franklin, Leo M.
Grossman, Louis
Heller, Max
Kohler, Kaufmann
Philipson, David
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph

Finance

Lazaron, Morris S., *Chairman*
Leipziger, Emil W.
Marcuson, Isaac E.

Investments

Newfield, Morris, *Chairman*
Calisch, Edward N.
Wolsey, Louis

Liturgical Literature

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E., *Secretary*
Bettan, Israel
Calisch, Edward N.
Cohon, Samuel S.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Kohler, Kaufmann
Mann, Louis L.
Morgenstern, Julian
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel

Publications

Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman*
Currick, Max C.
Elzas, Barnett A.
Morgenstern, Julian
Newfield, Morris
Stern, Nathan

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, *Chairman*
Brill, Abram
Hirschberg, Abram
Newfield, Morris
Schanfarber, Tobias

Religious Education

Mann, Louis L., *Chairman*
Baron, Joseph
Franklin, Leo M.
Grossman, Rudolph
Rosenau, William
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Wolsey, Louis

Religious Work in Universities

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Bookstaber, Philip
Feldman, Abraham J.
Fram, Leon
Frankel, Benjamin
Friedman, Benjamin
Frisch, Ephraim
Landman, Solomon
Levy, Felix A.
Lyons, Alexander
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann, Louis L.
Newman, Louis I.
Salzman, Marcus
Stern, Richard M.
Tarshish, Jacob
Tedesche, Sidney S.

Responsa

Kohler, K., *Honorary Chairman*
Lauterbach, J. Z., *Chairman*
Bettan, Israel
Cohon, Samuel S.
Landsberg, Max
Rappaport, Julius
Silver, Abba Hillel

Social Justice

Wolf, Horace J., *Chairman*
Stern, Nathan, *Vice-Chairman*
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Cronbach, Abraham
Ettelson, Harry W.
Frisch, Ephraim
Levinger, Lee J.
Lovitch, Meyer
Mann, Louis L.
Rosenau, William

Solicitation of Funds

Heller, James G., *Chairman*
Calisch, Edward N.
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fineshriber, William H.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Kory, Sol L.
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levi, Harry
Magnin, Edgar F.
Merfeld, Harry A.
Stern, Nathan
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Thurman, Samuel

Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions

Zielonka, Martin, *Chairman*
Brickner, Barnet R.
Cohen, Simon R.
Frankel, Benjamin M.
Macht, Wolfe,
Nathan, Marvin
Thurman, Samuel

Synagog Music

Wolsey, Louis, *Chairman*
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Heller, James G.
Holtzberg, Abraham
Idelsohn, A. Z.
Levy, David
Mayer, Harry H.
Stern, Nathan

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Manual for Instruction of Proselytes

Rauch, Joseph, *Chairman*
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Rosenau, William
Spiegel, Adolph

Good Will Between Jews and Non Jews

Simon, Abram, *Chairman*
Enelow, Hyman G.
Philipson, David
Silver, Abba Hillel
Wolsey, Louis

International Peace

Goldenson, Samuel H., *Chairman*
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levi, Gerson B.
Wise, Stephen S.

PALESTINE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

General Council

Calisch, Edward N.
Fineshriber, William H.
Hirschberg, Abram
Lyons, Alexander
Witt, Louis
Wolf, Horace J.

Central Committee

Landman, Isaac
Levi, Charles S.
Mann, Louis L.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Simon, Abram
Stern, Nathan

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES OF THE CEDAR POINT CONVENTION

President's Message

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Bettan, Israel
Enelow, Hyman G.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Heller, Max
Landman, Isaac
Lefkowitz, David
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann, Louis L.
Morgenstern, Julian
Newfield, Morris
Rosenau, William
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schulman, Samuel
Silver, Abba Hillel
Stern, Richard M.
Wolsey, Louis

Resolutions

Marx, David, *Chairman*
Cohen, Simon R.
Frankel, Benjamin M.
Goldberg, David
Heller, James G.
Koch, Samuel
Levi, Gerson B.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Newman, Louis I.
Witt, Louis
Zepin, George

Nominations

Ettelson, Harry W., *Chairman*
Cohen, Frederick
Feldman, Abraham J.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Frisch, Ephraim
Gup, Samuel
Kory, Sol L.
Rauch, Joseph
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Solomon, George
Tedesche, Sidney S.

Publicity

Levy, Clifton Harby, *Chairman*
Jacobs, Peiser
Rypins, Frederick I.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 26

Opening Prayer—Henry Cohen
Address of Welcome—Louis Wolsey
Roll Call
Reports:
- President—Abram Simon
- Recording Secretary—Isaac E. Marcuson
- Corresponding Secretary—Morris S. Lazaron
- Treasurer—Morris Newfield
- Solicitation Committee—Morris S. Lazaron
- Co-operation With National Organizations—Abram Simon
- Publications Committee—Isaac E. Marcuson
- Arbitration—Henry Cohen
- Investment Committee—Morris Newfield
- Religious Work in Universities—Leo M. Franklin
- Church and State—David Lefkowitz
- Manual for Instruction of Proselytes—Joseph Rauch
- Curators of Archives—Henry Englander

Resolutions on the Centenaries of Steinthal and Lazarus—David Neumark

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

Papers:
- The Place of the Sermon in Jewish Worship—Gerson B. Levi
  Discussion led by Max Heller
- Historical and Systematic Relations of Judaism to Immanuel Kant—David Neumark

THURSDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—David Levy
President's Message—Abram Simon
Address in Memory of Henry Berkowitz—Harry W. Ettelson
Kaddish and Benediction—Joseph Stolz

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 27

Opening Prayer—Jacob Turner
Report of Committee on Contemporaneous History—Harry S. Linfield
Amendments to Constitution

FRIDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—Tobias Schanfarber
Sabbath Eve Services—Morris Youngerman
Conference Lecture—Joseph Rauch
Adoration and Kaddish—Solomon Landman
Benediction—Abram Simon

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 28

Opening Prayer—William B. Schwartz
Morning Service for the Sabbath—Louis Binstock
Reading from Torah—Simon Cohen
Conference Sermon—Samuel Koch
Adoration and Kaddish—Samuel H. Markowitz
Benediction—Louis Wolsey

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

Paper: (Symposium)
Present Status and Future Outlook of Reform Judaism—Samuel H. Goldenson

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 29

Opening Prayer—Joseph Peiser
Symposium—A Revaluation of Reform
Introduction—Kaufmann Kohler
Reports:
Synagog Music—Jacob Singer
Relief and Pension Fund—Joseph Stolz

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

Papers: (Symposium)
Theoretical Foundation of Reform Judaism—Hyman G. Enelow
Survey of Achievements of Reform Judaism—Julian Morgenstern

SUNDAY EVENING

Shiur—Jacob Z. Lauterbach
Reports:
Resolutions—David Marx
President's Message—David Philipson

MONDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DAY

Opening Prayer—Jacob Pollak
Report of Committee on Religious Education—Louis L. Mann
Report of Joint Commission on Religious Education—David Philipson
Survey of Religious Educational Conditions in Reform Congregations—Emanual Gamoran, Educational Director, U. A. H. C.
Experiences in High School Grades in Religious Schools—Morris S. Lazaron, Samuel Koch
New Haven Experiment—Louis L. Mann
Normal School Work—Louis Wolsey
Reports:
Marriage and Divorce Laws—Israel Bettan
Nominations—Harry W. Ettelson
Election of Officers
Benediction—Julian Morgenstern
Adjournment

PROCEEDINGS

The Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was held at Cedar Point, Ohio, June 26th to June 30th, 1924.

The opening session was called to order on Thursday morning, June 26th, at ten o'clock, with the President, Rabbi Abram Simon, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Henry Cohen. An address of welcome was delivered by the Vice-President, Rabbi Louis Wolsey.

To the roll call, the following 111 members answered present during the course of the Convention:

List of Members Present

Anspacher, Abraham S.
Baron, Joseph L.
Bazell, Solomon H.
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Bettan, Israel
Binstock, Louis
Brickner, Barnet R.
Bookstaber, Philip
Buttenweiser, Moses
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Cohen, Henry
Cohen, Simon
Cohen, Simon R.
Cohn, Frederick
Cohon, Samuel S.
Cronbach, Abraham
Enelow, Hyman G.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Feinberg, Abram
Feinstein, Abraham
Feldman, Abraham J.
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Frankel, Benjamin
Freehof, Solomon B.
Freund, Charles J.
Freund, Iser
Frisch, Ephraim
Gabor, Andor
Goldberg, David
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Grafman, Louis
Gup, Samuel M.
Heller, Bernard
Heller, James G.
Heller, Maxmillian
Hirschberg, Abram

Holtzberg, Abraham
Iola, Hyman
Jacobs, Pizer
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Kaplan, Samuel S.
Kaufman, Max
Koch, Samuel
Kory, Sol L.
Landman, Isaac
Landman, Solomon
Latz, Charles B.
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Lefkowitz, David
Leipziger, Emil W.
Leiser, Joseph
Levi, Charles S.
Levi, Gerson B.
Levinger, Lee J.
Levy, Clifton H.
Levy, David
Levy, Felix A.
Lifset, Theodore
Linfield, Harry S.
Lovitch, Meyer
Luchs, Alvin S.
Macht, Wolfe
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann, Louis L.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Margolis, Harry S.
Markowitz, Samuel H.
Marx, David
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Mendelsohn, Samuel F.
Minda, Albert G.
Montaz, Arthur S.
Morgenstern, Julian
Neumark, David
Newfield, Morris
Newman, Louis I.
Philipson, David
Pollak, Jacob B.
Raisin, Max
Rauch, Joseph
Reichert, Irving F.
Rhine, Abraham B.
Rosenbaum, David
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Rypins, Frederick I.
Salzman, Marcus
Sanders, Ira E.
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schwartz, Samuel
Schwartz, William B.
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Shillman, Samuel
Silver, Abba Hillel
Simon, Abram
Singer, Jacob
Skirball, Jack H.
Solomon, George
Stern, Harry J.
Stern, Richard M.
Stolz, Joseph
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Thurman, Samuel
Turner, Jacob
Urich, Morris
Waterman, Philip F.
Witt, Louis
Wolsey, Louis
Youngerman, Morris
Zepin, George
Zielonka, Martin

Messages of greeting were read from Rabbis Henry Barnston, Edward N. Calisch, Henry Englander, Solomon Foster, William H. Fineshriber, Leo M. Franklin, Louis Grossman, Kaufmann Kohler, Nathan Krass, Alexander Lyons, Eugene Mannheimer, William Rosenau, Samuel Schulman, Nathan Stern and Horace

J. Wolf; from Miss Jeanette Miriam Goldberg, Mr. Alfred M. Cohen, President of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College and Mr. Leopold Strauss, President, Kahl Montgomery, Montgomery, Ala.

Rabbi Abram Simon read the annual report of the President.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The President aims in this report to present a few of the outstanding items of business transacted during the Executive Board sessions, and such other matters as naturally have come under his responsibility as the Presiding Officer.

The Executive Board held four meetings during the year: one immediately after the Cape May Conference, one in Cincinnati during October, a special meeting in New York City in January and one at Cedar Point.

Upon my return to America after the summer vacation, I found that the Resolution of Protest against Soviet Russia for its War on Religion was fortunately not forwarded. The following correspondence will make clear my attitude and action, which, later on, received the approval of the Executive Board.

September 4th, 1923.

Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen,
Executive Director,
531 West 123rd St.,
New York City.

MY DEAR RABBI:

Upon my return from Europe I found your letter of July 8th, addressed to Rabbi Wolsey, upon my desk. I am free to say to you that the resolutions which condemn the Soviet Government of Russia for its War upon Religion, while in spirit justifiable, call nevertheless for a toning down in view of more recent events. All the travelers returning from Russia bring the information that the situation of the Jew there, exclusive of the famine victims, is more satisfactory than it was under the Czar's regime. A loosening of the Soviet power will mean the massacre of a million Jews. It is tragic to admit that the Soviet leaders who, in Spring and Autumn, parodied our Pesach and Yom Kippur, were renegade Jews. It must also be understood that religious education of children under eighteen is only prohibited in public, (unfortunate enough), thus driving back religion into the home, its logical place.

I am constrained to believe that, had the Resolution originally suggested by Rabbi Calisch, our former President, been sent in the Spring when he first entered into correspondence with Dr. Cyrus Adler and Dr. Elias Solomon, the protest would have been more seasonable and effective. I do not wish to refuse to sign the protest, nor should a protest be without teeth. But above and beyond all else, I am anxious that no protracted gesture of ours should at this late day, when Soviet Russia is slowly fighting her way into recognition, become a boomerang involving the peace and life of our brethren there.

Trusting that you will understand the purport of these lines, and will ask Dr. Solomon if such a protest can be written so that its probable reaction may not be unfavorable to our own people, and with every good wish for the happiness of our brethren here and everywhere, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ABRAM SIMON.

A reply from Rabbi Elias L. Solomon, President of the United Synagogs of America, and dated September 24th, 1923, reads as follows:

Your letter of the 6th instant addressed to our Executive Director, Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen, in which you ask him to bring to my attention your views with regard to the Joint Resolution which your organization and ours were planning to send to the Soviet Government condemning it for its war upon religion, has been submitted to me.

I am in entire agreement with you in your view that at the present stage it were inadvisable to send the Resolution as drawn up, and I will bring the matter before the attention of our Executive Council at its very next meeting. Inasmuch as the situation in Soviet Russia has undergone the change, as described by you in your letter, and may even improve as time goes on, it may be just as well that we wait a little longer before we send our Resolution.

The one thousand dollars from the Relief Fund which was voted to be given to needy rabbis and professors in Europe was entrusted to Rabbi Hyman G. Enelow, who disposed of the same with evident satisfaction.

In order to continue the work of our Commission on Social Justice in its intensive study of the Economic Factors of War the sum of $250 was granted.

The Foreign Language Information Service, which is doing creditable work in Americanizing our aliens, was allowed $25.

As a tribute to Dr. Kaufmann Kohler on his 80th birthday anniversary and in recognition of his leadership in the famous Pittsburgh Conference of 1885, the Executive Board printed a pamphlet containing the proceedings of that historic session.

Your resolution that the Executive Board consider the advisability of the publication of another Volume of Sermons was left by the Board to a referendum of the entire membership. Because the vote stood 62 in favor to 63 against, with two doubtful votes, I am, with your permission, leaving this matter for final disposal on the floor of this Conference.

A separate publication of the Services for the House of Mourning was printed, and sent to you.

It was the unanimous desire of the Conference last year that it collect as much as $30,000 for the support of the five Jewish Seminaries of Central Europe. Because of the inability of certain men to assume the Chairmanship of this Committee, I found it necessary to circularize the entire Conference so that each member might collect at least $250 in his community, and forward the same to our Treasurer, Rabbi Newfield. I realize the pressure of similar appeals and drives, and yet I am persistent not merely because of the high merit of the measure, but especially because your enthusiasm and unanimous vote were behind it.

The Prò-Falasha Fund met with more success. The vacancy in the Chairmanship, caused by the withdrawal of Rabbi Ephraim Frisch, has been well filled by Rabbi J. Max Weis.

During the year your President has sent letters to the members on the Bok Peace Prize, Near East Sunday, Child Labor Amendment, Synagog Pension Plan, Japanese Relief Fund and the International World Court. Let me thank you all for your hearty co-operation in the furtherance of these projects.

Your attention is directed to the vote of the Executive Board not to participate in the American Jewish Congress, scheduled to be held in Boston, October 14th, 1923.

Three amendments will claim your attention: one a slight change in Article VI so that members on the Executive Board may be elected for two years at a time; another amending Article III so that the membership on the Committee on Solicitation of Funds shall consist of no less than five or more than fifteen members; and thirdly, amendments to Article III for the insertion of the phrase: "Jewish Professors in Semitic Academies or Faculties" and the elimination of the sentence: "And ministers, not graduates of a Rabbinical Seminary, who have been in the ministry five years and who have been officiating for one and the same congregation three consecutive years." Let me call your attention to the fact that the Executive Board unanimously approved the last amendment. It favors ordination as a prerequisite of membership.

Your President received a communication from the family of our

late brother and lamented colleague, Joseph Krauskopf, calling attention to the following statement in his will:

> "All rights to reprint the 32 Volumes of Discourses delivered in the pulpit of Keneseth Israel, I bequeath to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for such use of them as they may see fit. Many of these discourses have had for their purpose propaganda for Israel's cause, and they may continue to serve such ends for some time to come. As all of them were written under the pressure of a very strenuous ministry, not a few of them may require editing, especially those that were written at a comparatively early age. I therefore accord to the Central Conference of American Rabbis the right to deal with these discourses as their judgment may dictate."

The Executive Board, with a deep sense of appreciation, accepted this bequest, and will find space for these volumes in the archives of our Conference in the Hebrew Union College Library.

The following two items of correspondence may interest you. On April 17th, 1924, I wrote to Harcourt, Brace & Company, publishers of Papini's "Life of Christ," asking them to explain the sentence in their advertisement in the New York Times Book Review of April the 6th:

> "Jew, Catholic, Protestant, give it highest praise."

In reply, I received a very frank and magnanimous acknowledgment that the phrase was not wholly accurate, and would be eliminated.

> "We have your favor of April 17th in regard to the phrase in our advertisement, saying that the Jew, the Catholic and the Protestant have praised Papini's 'Life of Christ.' We are frank to say that the use of this exact phrase was unfortunate, and we shall not use it again."

On December the 28th, 1923, I wrote to Rev. Dr. Robert E. Speer, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America the following letter:

> The people of our country are awaiting a pronouncement from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America as to its attitude towards the Ku Klux Klan, either as a professed defender of American Protestantism or as an expositor of truest American patriotism. As President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, I most earnestly invite your official statement on the new and present development of Klanism in the United States.

The reply is dated New York, December 29th, 1923, and reads as follows:

In reply to your gracious letter of December 28th, addressed to Dr. Speer, I send you under another cover an issue of the Federal Council Bulletin containing our statement on the Ku Klux Klan which evidently escaped your attention. As I read this over, I cannot see how it could be made any better or any stronger. While it was made some time ago, it is not, of course, advisable for a body like the Federal Council to repeat actions constantly at these meetings, but of course, an action once taken can be repeated and attention can be called to it from time to time. You will also note that there has hardly ever been an important annual or quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council when we have not taken some action relative to the unjust persecution of our Hebrew brethren. This was notably the case at our last Quadrennial Meeting with reference to the pronouncements at that time of Mr. Ford.

With my warmest good wishes for a happy New Year,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) CHARLES S. MCFARLAND.

I call your attention to Resolution VII, adopted last year;

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Executive Board of this Conference be instructed to arrange the 1925 meeting of the Conference just prior to the 1925 meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in St. Louis;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Executive Board propose to the Executive Committee of the Union that one joint session of the two organizations be held at that time."

The Conference was authorized to take action at the 1924 Convention. Without desiring to anticipate the action of this Conference, let me ask your consideration of it in connection with a telegram received yesterday from Mr. Alfred M. Cohen, inviting the Conference to hold its 1925 session in Cincinnati at the time of the Golden Jubilee of the Hebrew Union College.

It was a great pleasure for your President to attend numerous congregational functions, and to speak at the dedication of temples and other historic services. While the work as President has been quite arduous, he has enjoyed such splendid co-operation on the part of the Executive Board and of the officers as to lighten his task materially. I believe a special word of appreciation ought to be said with respect to the helpfulness of Rabbis Marcuson, Newfield, Wolsey and Lazaron, and especially of Rabbi Cohon, Chairman of the Program Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON,
President.

The report was received with thanks, and upon motion, was ordered printed in the Yearbook.

The report of the Recording Secretary was read by Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Recording Secretary begs leave to submit the following actions of the Executive Board on the various matters brought before it and for which it asks your approval.

Four meetings of the Executive Board have been held since the last session of the Conference, namely: Cape May, New Jersey, July 2nd, 1923; Cincinnati, Ohio, October 9-10, 1923; New York City, January 30, 1924; Cedar Point, Ohio, June 25, 1924.

It was moved and adopted that the sum of $1,000 be taken from the relief fund for the use of needy rabbis and professors in Europe and Rabbi Enelow was requested to attend to its proper distribution.

It was moved and adopted that all papers read before the Conference be reprinted and that 100 copies be given to the authors and the rest be distributed.

Rabbi Harry S. Linfield was appointed chairman of the Committee on Contemporaneous History.

It was moved and adopted that a sum not exceeding $100 be allowed the committee for the purchase of magazines and papers.

It was moved and adopted that the bond of the treasurer be fixed at $25,000, the expense of the bond to be borne by the Conference.

It was moved and adopted that the social justice platform be printed on the back cover of Rabbi Cronbach's paper and that the President, in his first circular letter, ask the members of the Conference to reprint the social justice platform in their bulletin. It was further moved and adopted that additional copies of the platform be printed and the members be urged to distribute same in their synagogs on the Day of Atonement.

It was moved and adopted that the readers of Divine Service at future Conferences be requested to follow the text as printed in the Union Prayer Book.

It was moved and adopted that the recording secretary be authorized to buy a set of biblical maps to be presented to the First Presbyterian Church of Cape May, New Jersey, in recognition of the courtesy shown to the Conference in allowing the use of the church for religious services.

It was moved and adopted that the next Conference be held the last week in June at some place in the middle West and that a committee be

appointed to find a suitable place for the meeting. The President named Rabbis Wolsey and Ettelson as the committee.

It was moved and adopted that Rabbi Rosenau be requested to get what information he could from the authorities of the seminaries in Europe in regard to their needs and that, after he had secured this information, a committee be appointed to work out ways and means to raise the money needed.

It was moved and adopted that at the expiration of the present contract with the Bloch Publishing Co., the plan of having a sole agency be discontinued, and that a committee be appointed to work out a plan for the handling of the books of the Conference.

It was moved and adopted that the papers which were prepared by the Commission on Marriage and Divorce shall be turned over to an editorial committee for summarizing and for suggestions, and that the papers, with these conclusions, shall be printed and sent out to the members of the Conference at least three months before the meeting when they are to be taken up for discussion. Rabbi Bettan was named as chairman of the editorial committee.

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board go on record as favoring the amendment to the constitution that "none but ordained rabbis shall become members of the conference" and that a copy of the membership list shall be sent to every president and secretary of the congregations connected with the Union.

It was moved and adopted that a committee on Summer School be appointed and that the chairman offer the services of the committee to the President of the Hebrew Union College.

It was moved and adopted that permission to use selections from the Union Prayer Book in other books of prayers shall be granted at the discretion of the publications committee, provided due credit be given to the Union Prayer Book.

A committee consisting of Rabbis Rosenau, Fineshriber, Goldenson, Abram Hirschberg, Magnin, Rauch and Stephen S. Wise, was appointed to proceed with the raising of the necessary funds for the support of the five seminaries in Europe.

It was moved and adopted that the minutes of the Pittsburgh convention, held in November, 1885, be reprinted in pamphlet form and mailed to all receiving the year book, in honor of the 80th birthday of Dr. Kohler, and that a specially bound copy be sent to Dr. Kohler in the name of the Conference.

It was moved and adopted that a committee be appointed by the President to consider the feasability and advisability of another sermon volume. A vote of the members being taken, it was decided not to publish the volume at the present time. A letter was received from the President of New York State Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, asking that the Conference prepare a children's service and prayers for private

worship. It was moved and adopted that Mrs. Glauber be informed that we have such a service both in the Union Prayer Book and in the Union Hymnal.

The co-operation of the Conference was pledged to the committee in charge of the American Peace Award in giving publicity to the plan.

It was moved and adopted that we favor a tract on the Jew and World Peace, and Rabbi Franklin was asked to take the matter up with the Tract Commission.

Rabbis Simon and Schanfarber were named as conference representatives to the convention of the National Federation of Religious Liberals.

Rabbi Lefkowitz was authorized to arrange with a clipping bureau for data of interest to the Committee on Church and State, the expense not to exceed $75.00.

A letter was read from Max Schloessinger, asking help for a library to be established in Palestine. No action was taken, as it was reported that other agencies are already at work on the same project.

It was moved and adopted that a sum not exceeding $250.00 be put at the disposal of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities.

Rabbi Rauch was made chairman of the committee to draw up a Manual for Conversion.

It was moved and adopted that the Evening Service for the House of Mourning be reprinted as a separate pamphlet. It was further moved and adopted that the advisability of printing a morning service to correspond to the evening service at the House of Mourning in the Union Prayer Book shall be referred to the Committee on Liturgical Literature with the request that the committee consider the need of such a service.

The price of the Union Hymnal was raised to 65c. to cover the cost of production.

It was moved and adopted that it shall be the policy of the Conference that all reports from joint commissions shall be made by the chairman of the Conference group.

It was moved and adopted that the secretary print a new edition of the conversion certificates and that these certificates be brought to the attention of the members.

It was moved and adopted that the Conference continue its membership in the National Federation of Religious Liberals but that the Federation be notified that the Conference desires the privilege to name the members who shall serve on the executive board to represent the Conference.

The report of the Publications Committee was submitted by Rabbi Marcuson and a new edition of the Haggadah was authorized. Permission was granted to Rabbi Nathan Stern to reprint certain pages from the memorial service from Volume II., to be used as an insert in the Passover Service in Volume I, provided a note be affixed stating that these pages have been taken from Volume II, and further, with the understanding that no changes be made in the text.

The Secretary was authorized to have the membership cards posted up to date.

The report of the Committee on Arbitration, to whom had been referred the task of compiling a code of ethics, was read and it was moved and adopted that the committee report progress, and that a copy of the code of ethics prepared by the committee be sent to the members of the conference for consideration and criticism. After the replies have been considered by the committee a revised code shall be sent to the members at least one month before the convention.

A sudsidy of $100.00 was voted to Dr. Abraham Kahana to aid in the publication of remaining volumes of his commentary on the Bible.

It was moved and adopted that it be recommended to the incoming Executive Board that three quarterly bulletins be issued by the Conference during the year keeping the members in touch with the activities of the Conference.

An invitation was received from Mr. Alfred M. Cohen asking the Conference to hold its 1925 meeting in Cincinnati, so as to coincide with the jubilee celebration of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Hebrew Union College. It was decided to hold the regular meeting but to call a special meeting at this time to co-operate in the celebration.

The following rabbis were elected as members of the Conference: Solomon N. Bazell, George Benedict, Philip Bookstaber, Harry Caplan, Abram Feinberg, Andor Gabor, Louis Grafman, Theodore Lifset, Walter Peiser, Samuel Shillman, Joseph Taxay and Maurice Thorner.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
Recording Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was read by Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Corresponding Secretary desires to report the issuance of 241 vouchers, aggregating $28,157.47.

These vouchers represent expenditures divided as follows:

Transfer of funds	$ 8,500.83	
General Expenditures	2,701.34	
Publications	14,305.30	
Pensions	2,650.00	
		$28,157.47

The secretary takes this opportunity to express his grateful appreciation of the co-operation of the President, the Treasurer and the other officers of the Conference in carrying on his work during the year.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS S. LAZARON,
Corresponding Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was read by Rabbi Morris Newfield.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The report of the Treasurer covers the period from June 11, 1923 to June 10, 1924.

As instructed by the Executive Board, the Treasurer had a public accountant audit the books covering the same period and the report of the public auditor is herewith submitted.

According to the report on June 10, 1924, the total assets of the Conference in the hands of the Treasurer amounted to $71,804.89, of which $65,000.00 is in Liberty and other bonds and $6,804.89 in cash. This is a net increase of our resources for the fiscal year amounting to $1,639.71.

But to this should properly be added the fund obtained by the Committee on Solicitation during the fiscal year, which amount is $6,382.00, as reported to the Treasurer by the Chairman of the Solicitation Committee. In as much as the fund gathered by the Solicitation Committee has not yet been turned over to the Treasurer, it is not included in the report of the public auditor but is part of the resources of the Conference.

If this sum is added to the net increase stated above, the total resources of the Conference at the present time amount to $78,186.89, which is a net increase during the fiscal year of over $8,000.00.

The Committee on Solicitations has this year succeeded in raising a much larger amount than in any previous year and deserves the special thanks of the Conference for its successful work.

The total membership of the Conference on June 10, 1924, was two hundred and seventy-eight (278). Five members are exempt from payment of dues. Two hundred and twelve (212) members have paid their dues in full. Twenty-two (22) members owe for two years. Thirty-nine (39) members owe for one year. During the year, the Conference has lost three members by death, three members by suspension and enrolled six new members.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS NEWFIELD,
Treasurer.

The report was received with thanks, and with the report of the Auditor, ordered printed in the Yearbook.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

To the Central Conference American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: We beg to hand you herewith report, setting forth the result of our examination of your accounts, for the period of June 11, 1922, to June 11, 1924. We have divided the report into two separate statements, one statement from June 11, 1922, to June 10, 1923, and the other from June 11, 1923, to June 10, 1924.

We hereby certify that we have examined the securities, and tested the cash balances. We found all securities on hand as called for by the record, and as shown on the schedule of securities included in this report, and found the cash balance correct.

The total of the various funds summarized on exhibit "B" is in agreement with the total cash and securities on hand at June 10, 1924.

We have made as a basis for this report the audit made at the close of business June 11, 1922, using the closing balance shown on that report as the opening balance for this report.

We found from our examination of the disbursements, that the total disbursements as shown on the record were correct; we were unable, however, due to the meager information furnished on the vouchers, to verify the distribution of the disbursements. We found the records excellently kept, and the system is adequate to meet the requirements furnishing all necessary information, and the only recommendation we wish to make is, that the vouchers be made to show in more detail the disbursement that it is drawn for, and the proper fund that it is to be paid to.

Respectfully,

J. H. LEHMANN AUDIT COMPANY,
By J. H. LEHMANN.

The report of the Committee on Solicitation of Funds was read by Rabbi Lazaron.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Solicitation of Funds begs to submit herewith its report for 1923-1924:

In order to facilitate the securing of contributions to our Pension Fund, the country was divided into districts and each member of the Committee was given a certain district for which he was made responsible. The amount of money collected by your Committee this year is eloquent

testimony to the merit of the new plan. Your Committee is able to report a total of $6,382.79 received to June 12th, the date of the closing of the books. Your Committee reports a further $987.76 received since then, making a total of $7,370.75.

I cannot submit this report without including my personal appreciation to those members of my Committee whose splendid efforts and fine co-operation have made possible—more than the work of your chairman—the unprecedented collection of this year.

I append herewith complete list of contributions for this year to date.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS S. LAZARON, *Chairman.*

Alabama—	
Mobile—Cong. Shaarai Shomayim	$ 10.00
Arkansas—	
Fort Smith—United Heb. Cong.	25.00
Pine Bluff—S. E. Rosenberg	10.00
Harold Blumenthal	5.00
California—	
Los Angeles—Mrs. Therese W. Sommer	5.00
Dr. D. W. Edelman	10.00
Abe Rifkind	5.00
Cecil Tugendrich	10.00
Mrs. Baruch	25.00
Mr. Samuels	25.00
Cashier's check, Hellman Bk.	10.00
Miss Fronie Reich	5.00
Hermance Wolbrette	5.00
G. H. Roth	5.00
M. Winkler	5.00
Hattie S. Mack	5.00
Cash	5.00
Rose K. Spitz	10.00
Gertrude Fried	5.00
Bertha Harris	2.50
Julius Hirshberg	5.00
Arnold Faerber	25.00
Mrs. Bertha Stern	5.00
Cash	5.00
J. Klatscher	10.00
Mrs. S. Adelsohn	1.00
Mrs. J. L. Murphy	5.00
E. M. Riese	20.00
Pauline Haslacher	5.00
S. S. Schlank	10.00
Mrs. D. McDonald	10.00
Cash	3.00

Rivera—Franziska Ephraim	10.00
Santa Monica—A. Mosser	2.00
San Francisco—Philip Anspacher	10.00
Connecticut—	
New Haven—Chas. Kleiner	10.00
Delaware—	
Wilmington—Mrs. Morris Levy	5.00
Mrs. R. Wolters	5.00
Illinois—	
Chicago—Jos. S. Hartmann	10.00
Temple Sholom	25.00
Simon Levy	5.00
Mrs. Max Rothfeld	2.00
Temple Israel	25.00
Chas. Shaffner	20.00
Mrs. Henry Schulhoff	5.00
A. G. Becker	5.00
Maurice Englander	10.00
Peoria—Sisters of Peace	100.00
Galesburg—Jewish Ladies Aid Society	5.00
Springfield—F. M. Feffer	5.00
Mrs. F. M. Feffer	5.00
Mrs. Wm. L. Ensel	2.00
Miss Belle Karon	2.00
Highland Park—Mrs. Emanuel Mandel	25.00
Indiana—	
Indianapolis—G. A. Efrymson	25.00
Mt. Vernon—Mt. Vernon Temple Sisterhood	2.50
Terre Haute—Temple Israel	20.00
Wabash—Cong. Rodeph Sholom	10.00
Kentucky—	
Louisville—I. W. Bernheim	50.00
Joseph Lang	5.00
G. S. Rosenberg	3.00
Joseph Rauch	884.00
Somerset—John Slessinger	1.50
Maryland—	
Baltimore—B. R. Hessberg	5.00
Isaac Davidson	5.00
Baltimore Hebrew Cong.	194.00
Mrs. Max Greif	5.00
Har Sinai Congregation	76.20
Oheb Shalom Cong.	153.80
David Kemper	10.00

Massachusetts—

Boston—Mrs. J. Shuman	5.00
Mrs. Carl Dreyfus	5.00
Mrs. Miriam Brown	5.00
Mrs. Arthur Berenson	5.00
Mrs. A. K. Cohen	5.00
Miss Florence Richmond	5.00
Mrs. A. Hayman	5.00
Mrs. George Moses	5.00
Mrs. E. B. Rintels	5.00
Mrs. Hannah Barnet	5.00
Mrs. L. Rosenbaum	5.00
Miriam G. Einstein	2.00
Mrs. A. C. Ratshesky	5.00
Mrs. Rose Finkelstein	5.00
Mrs. Louis Strauss	5.00
Mrs. S. M. Jacobs	2.00
Mrs. Birdie Warren	5.00
Mrs. Jos. M. Herman	25.00
Mrs. S. Berson	5.00
Edward Rintels	1.00
Al. Rosenbush	15.00
Temple Israel	50.00
Henry Penn	10.00
Temple Ohabei Shalom	50.00
Lee M. Friedman	50.00
Wm. Penn	10.00
Mrs. Fannie Rottenberg	5.00
Allston—Mrs. M. Weinberg	2.00
Mrs. Felix Schaul	1.00
Mrs. L. Selig	2.00
A. B. Beal	15.00
Brighton—Chiswick Unit	5.00
Mrs. E. S. Solomon	2.00
Brookline—Mrs. J. Morse	5.00
Mrs. M. Reinhart	5.00
Mrs. Bertha B. Frank	5.00
Mrs. Lena Nathan	5.00
Mrs. Ann Rogal	5.00
Mrs. Arthur Barkhouse	5.00
Mrs. Bessie L. Abraham	5.00
Mrs. Flora K. Feldman	2.00
Mrs. J. Gryzmish	5.00
Minnie D. Rubenstein	5.00
Mrs. Carl Kaffenburgh	5.00
Mrs. F. A. Epstein	5.00
Mrs. Max Wyzanski	5.00

Mrs. Doris Stern	5.00
Mrs. R. B. Feuerlicht	10.00
Mrs. Salli Hofman	5.00
Mrs. A. S. Hirshberg	5.00
Mrs. Morris Morse	5.00
Mrs. M. Lewis	1.00
Mrs. R. W. Freedman	5.00
Mrs. Arthur Wallace	5.00
Mrs. S. Silver	2.50
Mrs. Sara Levi	2.50
Mrs. Sara Mainster	3.00
Mrs. Charles Gossman	2.00
Mrs. Z. Anshen	5.00
Mrs. Sydney Dreyfus	5.00
Mrs. Philip Brown	5.00
Mrs. Rose Kornfeld	5.00
Mrs. J. Birnbaum	2.00
Alma Samuels	1.00
Mrs. J. Weinberg	5.00
Mrs. J. Buxbaum	5.00
Mrs. J. E. Fishel	5.00
Mrs. A. Tannenholz	1.00
Mrs. J. Housen	5.00
Mrs. Maude Wyzanski	5.00
Mrs. Morris Marget	5.00
Mrs. L. J. Barnet	5.00
Mrs. C. Titcomb	2.00
Mrs. Solomon Agoos	5.00
Mrs. Nathan Sallinger	5.00
Mrs. Samuel Basker	5.00
Mrs. S. Goodman	30.00
George Norton	25.00
E. von Noorden	25.00
Chestnut Hill—Mrs. Hattie B. Stearn	5.00
Mrs. H. Bornstein	5.00
Cambridge—Mrs. Arnold Hartmann	5.00
Mrs. B. Jane Kahnweiler	5.00
Dorchester—Mrs. S. C. Weil	5.00
Newton—Mrs. D. L. Fine	5.00
Revere—Mr. S. I. Wellans	5.00
Roxbury—Mrs. S. Richmond	5.00
Mrs. Albert Rosenthal	5.00
Bertha Levy	5.00
John Nathan	10.00
Jacob Nathan	10.00
Somerville—Mrs. Benj. Bernson	5.00
Mrs. J. M. Wilson	5.00

Minnesota—

Minneapolis—Isaac Weil	5.00
Temple Israel	25.00

Michigan—

Detroit—Joseph Alexander	5.00
Mrs. Henry A. Krolik	15.00
Mrs. J. M. Netzorg	5.00
Fred M. Butzel	50.00
Dr. S. W. Rice	10.00
Sarah Rosenzweig	10.00
Mrs. Leopold Wineman	10.00
Henry Wineman	10.00
A. Wineman	10.00
Victor Slesinger	15.00
Mrs. Clara J. Sidder	5.00
Harry J. Goldstein	50.00
Ben F. Sunshine	5.00
Z. Himelhoch	15.00
Karl B. Segall	10.00
Clarence H. Engass	10.00
Joseph Hartman	25.00
Louis S. Musliner	5.00
S. A. Agree	5.00
Ypsilanti—Philip H. Halper	5.00

Mississippi—

Vicksburg—Anshe Chesed Cong.	20.00

Louisiana—

New Orleans—Leon Schwartz	25.00
Sam Bonart	10.00
Dave March	25.00
Louis Ochs	5.00
Touro Synagogue	25.00
Paul L. Godchaux	25.00
Shreveport—B'nai Zion Congregation	50.00

Missouri—

St. Louis—United Hebrew Temple	100.00

New Jersey—

Hoboken—I. Lauderstein	25.00

New York—

New York—Aaron Rubenberg	5.00
Maurice Greenstein	10.00
Temple Emanu-El	200.00
Dr. K. Kohler	3.00
Mrs. Maxwell Wollstein	10.00

Buffalo—E. Walter Weil	5.00
Louis Weill	5.00
Emil H. Rubenstein	5.00
Rachel R. Marks	2.00
August Keiser	25.00
Chas. K. Liebeskind	5.00
Simon Fleischmann	10.00
Harry Lewin	5.00
Philip L. Blumenthal	5.00
Marcus Lewin	5.00
Jennie Lewin	5.00
Sophia C. Hadida	5.00
Chas. A. Harris	10.00
S. M. Lazarus	5.00
Bertha M. Brock	5.00
Isidore M. Lowenthal	5.00
Lillian Greene	5.00
Rochester—Martin I. Regner	10.00
Julius J. Stiefel	5.00
Henry M. Stern	50.00
Niagara Falls—	50.00
North Carolina—	
Fayetteville—J. Kronsburg	2.00
Greensboro—S. J. Stern	5.00
I. Reinheimer	5.00
Bernard M. Cone	10.00
New Berne—Leon Cohen	1.50
Raleigh—H. Lindeman	5.00
Rocky Mt.—E. Epstein	5.00
Ohio—	
Cincinnati—Mrs. Daniel Frank	10.00
Oscar Berman	10.00
Mrs. Sigmund Hoenig	10.00
Milliam Ziv	5.00
Chas. S. Spritz	5.00
Fannie L. Hahn	5.00
F. Marks	20.00
M. Kuppin	5.00
E. Rosenberg	5.00
Ben M. Bing	5.00
Julius Waldner	5.00
Max Stern	25.00
A. Fleischer	10.00
Julius Payton	5.00
P. H. Davis	2.50

Ohio—

Cincinnati—Louis W. Kain	25.00
Sigmund Rheinstrom	5.00
Henry Jonap	10.00
Samuel Lehman	10.00
Sam Gutman	10.00
Mrs. Sigmund Feld	5.00
Alfred M. Cohen	15.00
Emil Frank	10.00
Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg	15.00
Mrs. Jos. Ransohoff	15.00
Mrs. I. M. Bing	10.00
Julius W. Freiberg	10.00
J. Arthur Freiberg	10.00
Sidney J. Freiberg	10.00
Cong. Bene Israel	50.00
Dr. Alfred H. Freiberg	10.00
Arthur Joseph	25.00
Morris Isaac	5.00
S. R. Meyer	15.00
L. V. Marks	25.00
Emil Pollak	25.00
Edw. M. Marks	20.00
Edw. Behrman	2.00
Mrs. Sidney J. Eisman	3.00
A. N. Stix	10.00
Alma S. Bettman	10.00
Mrs. C. M. Thurnauer	25.00
Ben E. Rice	10.00
Henry A. Marks	2.00
A. W. Goldsmith, Jr.	5.00
Louis L. Rauh	10.00
Samuel Ach	10.00
Mrs. A. S. Seinsheimer	10.00
Benj. Mielziner	5.00
Ludwig Wise	25.00
H. S. Rosenthal	10.00
Alfred Mack	10.00
Mrs. Amelia W. Pritz	15.00
Chas. S. Moch	10.00
Herbert C. Oettinger	25.00
E. Huttenbauer	10.00
David F. Westheimer	10.00
Leo Wise	10.00
A. Edgar Auer	5.00
Emil A. Mayer	5.00

Ohio—

Cincinnati—Abraham E. Cohen	25.00
K. K. Bnai Yeshurun	50.00
Mrs. Clara Mayer	5.00
Irvin F. Westheimer	5.00
Charles Shohl	25.00
Felix Kahn	10.00
Julian A. Pollak	10.00
Edgar Friedlander	10.00
Carl E. Pritz	5.00
Mrs. Bettie Plaut	5.00
Gerson J. Brown	25.00
Mrs. Nathan Meis	10.00
Mrs. Effie H. Hirsch	5.00
Samuel J. Mack	25.00
Cleveland—Euclid Ave. Temple	50.00
Sol Reinthal	10.00
Hamilton—David F. Kahn	10.00
Lazard Kahn	5.00
Toledo—Collingwood Ave. Temple	5.00
Youngstown—Clarence J. Strouss	25.00

Oklahoma—

Oklahoma City—A. D. Engelsman	10.00

Pennsylvania—

Philadelphia—Philip N. Arnold	10.00
A. Barmach	10.00
Dr. Moses Behrend	5.00
Mrs. Nathan Berg	10.00
D. T. Berlizheimer	10.00
Jos. Bernhard	25.00
Eugene Bythiner	5.00
Herbert Dalsheimer	5.00
Miss Barbara Fels	10.00
Miss Rosena Fels	10.00
Henry Fernberger	10.00
Lionel Friedmann	10.00
David Greenberg	10.00
Simon Greenebaum	10.00
Morris Gross	15.00
Leo H. Heimerdinger	10.00
Max Herzberg	10.00
Arnold Katz	10.00
Dr. Bernard Kohn	10.00
Dr. Morton A. Langsfeld	10.00
Mr. and Mrs. A. Lieberman	15.00
Horace Loeb	10.00

Pennsylvania—	
Philadelphia—I. Lowenstein	10.00
Mrs. Louis Mark	10.00
Lewis Needles	10.00
Mr. and Mrs. Elias Nusbaum	10.00
M. M. Pearlman	10.00
David A. Powdermaker	20.00
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Rosenthal	10.00
Mr. and Mrs. Nusbaum	10.00
Simon Walter	10.00
Louis Goldsmith	10.00
Sigmund M. Rosin	10.00
Emil Selig	5.00
I. H. Silverman	10.00
David E. Simon	10.00
Bernard Sluizer	10.00
Jos. N. Snellenburg	10.00
Morton E. Snellenburg	10.00
Nathan Snellenburg	10.00
Judge Horace Stern	10.00
Leopold Hirsh Teller	5.00
Benjamin Wolf	10.00
Frank L. Newburger	10.00
Albert S. Marks	10.00
Joseph L. Kun	10.00
Wm. Gerstley	10.00
Louis Gerstley	10.00
Mortimer E. Swart	10.00
Samuel Stern	10.00
Edwin M. Goldsmith	10.00
Mrs. Charles Gimbel	15.00
Nathan Schwab	10.00
Harry M. Speare	10.00
Sidney M. Stern	10.00
Ben Pecher	10.00
Leo Loeb	10.00
Charles Edwin Fox	10.00
Isaac Heidelberger	10.00
Simon Weill	10.00
Allentown—Chas. Kline	25.00
Merion Station—Anthony A. Schwartz	10.00
Pittsburgh—Marcus Rauh	25.00
Reading—F. S. Stern	10.00
Wilkes-Barre—H. Lazarus	10.00
Harry F. Stern	10.00
J. W. Weitzenkorn	10.00

Tennessee—

Chattanooga—Harry Miller	29.75
Nashville—Vine Street Temple	25.00
Joseph Frank	5.00
L. Jonas	2.00
Clarence Bernstein	5.00
Coca Cola Bottling Co.	10.00
Simon Ghertner	1.00
Edw. B. Sulzbacher	2.00

Texas—

Dallas—Arthur L. Kramer	10.00
Mrs. I. G. Bomberg	3.00
J. K. Hester	5.00
Congregation Temple Emanuel	50.00
Houston—Hebrew Congregation Beth Israel	50.00
Fort Worth—Mrs. Ida Goldgraber	5.00
Galveston—Congregation B'nai Israel	50.00
Tyler—Congregation Beth-El	25.00
Waco—Congregation Rodef Sholom	25.00

Virginia—

Alexandria—Benoit Bear, Jr.	25.00
Irvin Diener	5.00
Beth-El Bible Class	10.00
Temple Beth-El Sisterhood	5.00
Council of Jewish Women	5.00
Bristol—E. K. Bachman	5.00
Fredericksburg—B. H. Jacobs	5.00
Gordonsville—S. Marcus	25.00
Harrisonburg—Rabbi J. Schwannenfeld	5.00
Ladies Aux. Soc. of Heb. Friend Cong.	5.00
Lynchburg—Bernard Goldstein	2.00
Petersburg—Isadore Reinach	5.00
M. Reinach	5.00
Richmond—S. O. Lindeman	10.00
Mrs. P. Thalhimer	5.00
Mrs. Flora Cohen	50.00
Raphael Levy	25.00
E. S. Goodman	5.00
Hannah Greentree	5.00
Lee A. Whitlock	25.00
B. W. Weinfeld	5.00
Mrs. Frances Weil	10.00
Charles Straus	5.00
Alfred Rose	5.00
S. Galeski	5.00

Virginia—	
Richmond—H. T. Ezekiel	2.50
Mrs. F. Bottigheimer	2.00
Lewis L. Strauss, Jr.	25.00
H. S. Binswanger	20.00
L. Nachman	5.00
Irving May	5.00
M. G. Thalhimer	10.00
L. Shere	5.00
Chas. Greenebaum	5.00
Edward Whitlock	25.00
Herman G. Brent	2.00
Dr. E. C. Levy	5.00
Mrs. B. V. Sycle	10.00
Congregation Beth Ahabah	50.00
Wm. B. Abrams	5.00
L. Z. Morris	25.00
I. Thalheimer	25.00
Wm. H. Schwarzschild	10.00
B. Weil	10.00
Staunton—Joseph L. Barth	5.00
Washington—	
Seattle—Mrs. Samuel Rosenberg	50.00
Hugo Loewy	10.00
Dave Lipman	5 00
Robert Beckerman	5.00
A. Shemanski	15.00
Murray Jacobs	5.00
Abe Friedman	5.00
Julius C. Lang	25.00
Leo S. Schabacher	25.00
A. Goldman	10.00
E. Rosenberg	15.00
Mrs. C. I. Stastny	5.00
F. Schwartz	5.00
S. B. Asia	10.00
Harry Rogers	5.00
S. Weinstein	5.00
I. Lachman	5.00
Ed. Striker	5.00
Abe Kreidel	5.00
H. A. Gerstman	5.00
Harry Stone	5.00
Jake Stone	5.00
I. Nusbaum	5.00
I. Heiman	5.00

Washington—	
Seattle—L. Stark	5.00
S. Friedlander	10.00
Keiter and Bernbaum	5.00
A. Cohen	5.00
Samuel Koch	5.00
Otto Guthman	5.00
Victor Staadecker	15.00
A. K. Kohn	5.00
S. Friedlander	5.00
Marc. Lees	10.00
I. Shafer	10.00
Stanley Blumenthal	5.00
M. S. Bornstein	5.00
Henry Pickard	10.00
Simon Wiener	2.50
F. V. Fisher	15.00
Carl Schermer	10.00
Sol Garde	10.00
Arthur G. Cohen	10.00
Mrs. Samuel Rosenberg	10.00
Ben Weinstein	5.00
S. Greenstone	5.00
J. Goldberg	5.00
L. Weisfield	5.00
S. Weisfield	5.00
S. Mannheimer	25.00
S. Grunbaum	10.00
L. Gottstein	10.00
H. Schoenfeld	25.00
Kreilsheimer Bros.	20.00
N. Eckstein	10.00
J. R. Hiller	5.00
B. Rothenberg	5.00
A. Kleinberg	5.00
S. Burnett	5.00
R. Seligman	5.00
A. Shafer	10.00
Temple De Hirsch	50.00
Wisconsin—	
Appleton—Louis J. Marshall	5.00
Milwaukee—Congregation Emanu-El	25.00
Congregation Bne Jeshurun	25.00

Upon motion, the report was received and a special vote of thanks was extended to Rabbi Lazaron and his committee for the excellent work accomplished.

The report of the Committee on Investments was presented by Rabbi Newfield.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INVESTMENTS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Investment Committee begs to report that the Conference at the present time has a total bonded investment of $65,000.00. These bonds are enumerated in detail in the official report of the public auditor, which has been submitted to the Conference. During the past year, $8,000.00 worth of new bonds have been purchased, bearing 5 and 5½ percent interest.

This committee is of the opinion that the $38,000.00 in Liberty Bonds, bearing 4¼ per cent interest, owned by the Conference, could be sold to advantage and be reinvested in State and Municipal Bonds, bringing a higher rate of interest.

This committee therefore recommends that the Executive Board be authorized to instruct the Committee on Investments to make such disposition of sale and reinvestment of these Liberty Bonds whenever in their judgment this would be of advantage to the Conference.

Fraternally submitted,

MORRIS NEWFIELD,
Chairman.
EDWARD N. CALISCH,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations was read by Rabbi Simon.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations finds that the increase in the prestige of our Conference carries with it a greater number of opportunities for co-operation with national groups. Through its President, the Committee has been in helpful correspondence with the following Jewish organizations:

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
The United Synagog,
The American Jewish Committee,
The Jewish Welfare Board,
The Palestine Development Council,
The Better Sabbath Observance Society.

The Jewish Welfare Board requested your President to accept appointment as one of its representatives on a national Jewish Committee to secure and present to the nation a suitable Chaplain's Memorial. We respectfully refer to the Executive Board, with our approval, the request of the Alliance of Israel (Mr. Emanuel Gross, of Jersey City, Chairman), for the endorsement of its work for a better observance of the Sabbath, and its further desire for the official representation of our Conference on its Advisory Board. Your Committee has been in correspondence with Rabbi Max Drob of the Rabbinical Assembly, seeking methods of co-operation on the project of Pensions for Rabbis.

The following non-Jewish organizations have sought our assistance which, in most cases, was cheerfully granted.

We asked our members to join in an appeal for Japanese Relief and for the Near East Relief.

We promised the Committee on Public Relations of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America our support for clean and wholesome picture.

We joined the Peace Union and the Churches of Christ in America in an appeal before the Senate Sub-Committee for the adherence of our country to the Permanent Court for International Justice. Rabbi Calisch and your President served as the Special Committee.

At the Convention, held in Philadelphia on November 13th, for International Friendship through the Churches we were officially represented by Rabbis Calisch and Ettelson.

The Citizens' Conference was held in Washington on October 14th, 1923, and was participated in by your President.

We have a request from the Federation of Religious Liberals that the President of the Conference and Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber be the Conference representatives on its Executive Board.

There has been referred to our Committee the following resolution:

"*Whereas,* The great religions whose interests center in Palestine are alike concerned in the rehabilitation of that land under the beneficent sway of Great Britain; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That the Central Conference of American Rabbis lend its aid and influence to the creation of a broad program of practical measures to enlist all the peoples, Jews, Christians and Mohammedans alike, in the furtherance of this common purpose."

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the high purposes of this resolution and with the good that may come from the united efforts of the three great religious bodies of the world. It awaits with eager anticipation the first favorable opportunity of either launching such a project or of co-operating with the Christians and Mohammedans whenever they present a similar enterprise.

On June 18th a wire message was received, signed by seven national Jewish organizations, that the great suffering endured by thousands of our brethren in European ports stranded there because of the enactment of the Immigration Bill, compels an immediate conference to be held at the Hotel Astor on Sunday morning, June 22nd, and invited our Conference to send representatives. Because of the urgency of the situation your President asked five rabbis of New York City to be present.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON,
Chairman.
EDWARD N. CALISCH,
LOUIS GROSSMAN,
MAX HELLER,
KAUFMANN KOHLER,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
JOSEPH STOLZ.

The report was received and adopted.

The Committee on Arbitration to which was assigned the task of preparing a code of ethics that shall govern the relations between rabbi and rabbi, rabbi and congregation, and congregation and congregation, reported progress. It was moved and adopted that the Committee shall send out the code which it has prepared to the members of the Conference for criticism during the coming year; that it shall consider the replies received and then prepare another code which shall be sent to all the members at least one month before the convention at which it shall be offered for adoption.

The report of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS WORK IN UNIVERSITIES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: For many years the Central Conference of American Rabbis has realized the pressing importance of the problem presented by the Jewish student in our universities and during that time, through its

Committee on Religious Work in Universities, it has with commendable consistency addressed itself to the solution of that problem.

Due to a variety of circumstances but most of all to a lack of money and of man power, the problem continues to grow and we seem to be as helpless before it as we ever were. We say this not without full recognition of the attacks that have been made upon it from many sides. A number of organizations have interested themselves in the Jewish college student but not one of them nor all of them together have as yet succeeded in making more than a surface impression upon the situation.

This Conference has established in many of the larger college centers, Student Congregations, with greater or less success, but the effort along these lines has after all been more or less sporadic. In this work, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has materially assisted us and in addition, it has done some independent work in behalf of student welfare.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, through its summer course of lectures, has brought the message of Judaism to large numbers of students, but it has not dealt with the Jewish student as such in any dominant way.

The Menorah Society, through its various chapters, has done some cultural work, but only indirectly has it addressed itself to the religious problem of the Jewish student. The Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and latterly, the Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, has made the Jewish student a matter of concern, but very largely with the idea of bringing him into social contact with his fellow Jews. Thus, while all sorts of organizations have included student welfare work in their programs of activities, there has been no centralized and concerted effort to meet the problem at issue or for that matter, even to study it with anything approaching scientific accuracy.

Our magazines and newspapers have carried frequent essays about the Jew in the university, but I have yet to see the first that has based its conclusions upon a scientific survey of conditions as they exist.

At the last meeting of the Conference, we reported to you that the Intercollegiate Menorah Association had begun negotiations looking to the calling of a conference of all Jewish organizations interested in the matter of student welfare and our Conference authorized the appointment of representatives to attend such a meeting when and where it should be called. We regret to report that despite frequent inquiries by the chairman of this committee and repeated assurances that preparations for such a meeting were under way, the conference has never been called and so far as we can learn, leading organizations interested in the problem at issue have not even been advised that such a meeting was in contemplation.

In view of this fact, your Committee recommends that this Conference sponsor a conference of representatives of all national organizations interested in the problems presented by the Jewish student with a view of making a scientific study of the whole situation and of devising ways and means of meeting the problem through concerted effort. It is further recom-

mended that if possible, such a conference be called to meet in the city of St. Louis just previous to the convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in January, 1925.

However, it must be apparent that this whole problem can never be met adequately unless there are at the disposal of those interested, ampler means and a greater number of men than are presently available. We believe that the one organization that can cope with this situation is the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. But we insist that the Union has not attacked this problem as directly and as insistently as it should, either because it lacked the necessary material resources, or what seems probable, it did not sense the tremendous importance of the problem itself. The time has definitely come when some organization—and preferably the Union —should awake to a realization of what we have at stake in this matter.

We therefore recommend that this Conference request the Program Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to include in its program at its coming biennial session in St. Louis, a paper dealing with this important problem. Moreover, we recommend that representations be made to the Budgetary Committee of the Union that a sum of money be provided with which to pay the salaries of at least two men who shall devote themselves exclusively to work with Jewish university students. In this connection, it should be said that the establishment of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Illinois, strikes us as being perhaps the most constructive bit of work that has been done in recent years in connection with the whole problem of student welfare. We desire to congratulate the Chicago Rabbinical Association, the B'nai B'rith and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for their co-operation in supporting this work.

Similar foundations should be established at all our leading universities where there are large numbers of Jewish students in attendance. The occasional visit of a rabbi to these centers will not sufficiently serve to intensify the Jewish consciousness of the men and women to whom we shall have to look for leadership in all phases of Jewish work in the years to come. This can be accomplished only through the organization and systematization of religious work in universities under constant and competent leadership. Half way measures will not serve in this matter. The problem is too important and too basic.

If our concern is the preservation of the Jew and Judaism in this country, we must count with the men fitted by training to stand at the helm of affairs. But if during their college careers when they are in the formative period, they are religiously neglected, our hopes for their future co-operation we may as well acknowledge are bound to be ill-founded.

We believe then that this whole situation should be presented at the next meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations as forcefully and as clearly as possible. The Union is at this time considering a new plan of financing its activities and it is the psychological moment when a sufficient sum of money to carry on this student work in an adequate manner should be provided.

There are so many phases of student work that are still entirely neglected. For instance, absolutely nothing has as yet been done in the girls' college and work with women ought to be regarded as of significant importance.

Our Conference put at the disposal of this Committee last year the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars ($250) for the carrying on of its work. And though this represented the maximum that the Conference could afford for this work, it was such a bagatelle that your committee felt that it would be useless to undertake any new work with such limited resources. We have kept a careful watch on conditions as they have developed during the year. We have encouraged those interested in the Jewish student. We have invited and secured the co-operation of many of the members of this Conference and of some laymen, but on the whole, we can only report progress and trust that within the briefest possible time, more adequate means will be at our disposal for the undertaking of this important work, the importance of which as stated above, we believe cannot be overestimated.

Respectfully submitted,

Leo. M. Franklin,
Chairman,
Benjamin Friedman,
Felix Levy,
Marcus Salzman,
Richard M. Stern,
Sidney S. Tedesche,

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim.* All recommendations were referred to the Executive Board for action.

Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon: In connection with this report, it should be added that the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith voted to spend $25,000 for welfare work in the various universities in the country.

Rabbi Frisch: I am heartily in favor of this recommendation. We have waited for years for something constructive to be done. Funds should have been gotten for this purpose. The work done for the men at the universities so far has not been done with the proper emphasis. Rabbi Richard Stern and I went as a committee representing the New York Rabbinical Association to consult with the professors of the College of the City of New

York in regard to student welfare. We were told that what the student needed was not religious services but a human personality, living on the campus, who could advise them. Out of a total of 1,700 students, there were 1,550 Jews, and I consider it an indictment of the Jews of America that we permitted those students to remain there wanting an adviser, a friend and a helper. And the indictment is the more severe since the Y. M. C. A. maintained a man there for the 250 Christian students. I feel that we have exaggerated the matter of prayer. What we need is human attention, and the Conference to be called by us should have larger vision and a broader view. The money can be raised. We ought not wait until a comprehensive program is completed. We should begin where the work is needed. We should place a man at the College of the City of New York and a man at Cornell. There are 700 Jewish students at Cornell and if the parents had been asked for a contribution of $10 each I believe that $10,000 would have been received by return mail. But let us not exclude the work of being real helpers to the students.

Rabbi Max Kaufman: The College of the City of New York has a majority of Jewish students, and I do not think that a line should be drawn between the religious and the secular. Let us study the whole matter from the human interest standpoint and that will bring the best results for the students.

Rabbi Tedesche: I think it would be absolutely impossible to settle this subject at this time. All of you know that the Jewish students of the large centers are the great problem. Hundreds upon hundreds come from the local towns. They have no spiritual guidance because many of them come from orthodox homes that have no connection with a synagog. This is well understood by the university authorities and it is a problem that they are trying to solve. I have services for the students on Sunday morning but it is but a drop in the bucket. There should be somebody on full time particularly in our large universities. Too much responsibility is placed on the local rabbis. We must do something and do it soon or we shall lose contact with the universities and with

the boys, hundreds of whom come to the universities and forget or deny all affiliation, Jewish or otherwise.

Rabbi James G. Heller: I believe we ought to consider much more maturely what was suggested by the report, namely, the advisability of a convention of all agencies interested in religious work in the universities. The amount of organization effort required to accomplish this work even in an individual university is so great that to organize the whole country before next January would be utterly impossible. It is my personal opinion that we ought to bring to bear all the pressure that we can upon the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to bring about an improvement and an increase in the student work at the universities. The Union is now rewriting its constitution—we are assured that it is to be completely reorganized. It seems to me that we should bring to the convention at St. Louis the recommendation that one of the things most needing attention and urgent attention is the religious work at universities.

The report of the Commission on Social Justice was read by Rabbi Coffee.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Social Justice Commission desires to report that its chief concern during the past year has been in its close co-operation, through its representatives, in the Conference on "economic factors in international relations" which consists of representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Federal Council and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

This Conference is preparing a series of Tracts, pointing out the relation between economics and war. The first of these pamphlets will be entitled "The Economic Factors in International Relations," the MSS. is being prepared by a member of the faculty of Columbia University who is also a member of the Conference. It is hoped to have this MSS. published by fall.

During the absence of the chairman, Rabbi Nathan Stern represented the Conference on the Joint Commission.

Preparations are being made by the Central Conference of American Rabbis for giving this first tract widespread publicity. Your Commission

recommended to the President of the Conference that an effort should be made to have the Social Justice program of the Conference presented at the biennial meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to be held at St. Louis next January, in order that the Social Justice program of the Conference might receive not only publicity among our laity, but also their favorable endorsement.

It was further recommended that the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis present the Conference's attitude towards social problems. Rabbi Simon wrote your chairman under date of December 26th, that he had taken up this matter with the President of the Union and that the President of the Union had welcomed the suggestion both officially and personally.

The commission corresponded with the chairman of the Tract Commission with reference to the possibility of issuing a tract on Social Justice, which would include the Social Justice program of the Conference. The chairman of the Tract Commission replied under date of December 24th, stating that he favored the writing of such a tract and the inclusion of the Social Justice program and that he would take up this matter with his Commission.

At the request of the President, the Commission on Social Justice officially endorsed the movement to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would permit the passage of a National Child Labor Law.

During the past year, over a hundred requests for copies of the Social Justice program were received from theological seminaries and organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE J. WOLF,
Chairman,
RUDOLPH I. COFFEE,
HARRY W. ETTELSON,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
LEE J. LEVINGER,
LOUIS L. MANN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
NATHAN STERN.

Upon motion, the report was received and adopted.

It was moved and adopted that a cable message of greeting be sent to Rabbi Wolf, Chairman of the Social Justice Commission, who was taken ill while traveling abroad, expressing the hope of the Conference for his speedy recovery.

Messages of greeting were also sent to Rabbis Kaufmann Kohler and Louis Grossman.

It was moved and adopted that the President shall appoint a committee of five to draft a resolution expressing the position of the Conference on War and Peace. (See page 91). The President appointed Rabbis James G. Heller, Rudolph I. Coffee, Morris S. Lazaron, Gerson B. Levi and George Solomon.

The Committee on Preparation of Manual for Conversion Ceremony reported progress. Upon motion, the name of the committee was changed to Committee on Preparation of Manual for the Instruction of Proselytes.

Resolutions in honor of the centenary of Heyman Steinthal and Moritz Lazarus were read by Rabbi Neumark (page 177).

Rabbi Benjamin Frankel was requested to give the Conference a review of his work among the Jewish students at the University of Illinois. (Appendix M).

Upon the completion of his remarks, the thanks of the Conference was extended to Rabbi Frankel.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference reassembled at 2:30 P. M.

A paper on The Place of the Sermon in Jewish Worship was read by Rabbi Gerson B. Levi. (Page 181).

The Vice-President, Rabbi Wolsey, takes the Chair.

The discussion was opened by Rabbi Max Heller.

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Freehof, Enelow and Gerson B. Levi. (Page 197).

The President, Rabbi Simon, takes the Chair.

Rabbi Neumark read a paper on the Historical and Systematic Relations of Judaism to Immanuel Kant. (Page 203).

The Conference adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING

The Conference reassembled at 8:30 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi David Levy.

The Annual Message (Appendix A) was read by Rabbi

Abram Simon, President of the Conference, and, upon motion, was referred to the Committee on President's Message, with the exception of the part referring to Peace which was referred to the Special Peace Committee, and the recommendation on Pension Fund, which was referred to the Pension Commission.

Memorial resolutions in memory of Henry Berkowitz were read by Rabbi Harry W. Ettelson. (Appendix D). Kaddish was recited by all the members in memory of their departed colleague. The benediction was given by Rabbi Joseph Stolz.

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 27

The meeting was called to order by the President at 9:30 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Jacob Turner. The minutes of the previous day's meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was read by Rabbi Harry S. Linfield.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee presents herewith a report of Jewish events of the year, which were deemed by your Committee to be of importance to this Conference, and submits in connection therewith a number of recommendations for your approval:

SABBATH AND HOLIDAYS

In March, 1924, Senator Downing introduced a bill (Bill No. 1287, Int. 1157 in Senate, March 10, 1924), in the Senate of the State of New York designed to create two days of rest every week. The bill provides that "it shall be unlawful to do on the last day of the week any act, the doing of which on the first day of the week is prohibited by law." Senator Downing, in a statement in the *New York Times,* wrote, "if this bill becomes a law, it will give 1,600,000 Jews . . . no further justification for saying that legislation designed to compel them to observe our Sunday laws involves discrimination, placing them at an economic disadvantage.

Under the circumstances, it should be possible for us justly to enforce Sunday laws against followers of all religious faiths and a little more rest and leisure will do us no harm."

Previously in the Fall of 1923, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, employed mostly in New York State, decided to seek the placing of the entire ladies' garment industry, one of the so-called Jewish industries, on the five-day, forty-hour week. The matter is still in the process of negotiation between the Union and the employers.

The convention of orthodox rabbis of New York and vicinity held in New York City, February 6, 1924, decided to further the establishment of a five-day-a-week system for factories and business establishments with a view to making possible the observance of Sabbath. Recently, the United Synagog decided to arrange conferences between employers and labor unions with a view to the establishing of a five-day week in as many industries as possible.

Your Committee recommends that the Central Conference of American Rabbis pass resolutions favoring the five-day week system especially in such seasonal industries like the clothing industry, the fur industry, and the building trades.

During the past year, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit of the League of Nations, appointed a committee of inquiry to consider questions relating to the reform of the calendar. The committee was instructed to take as a starting point the scheme prepared by the International Astronomical Union and the recommendations made by the International Chamber of Commerce. Important Jewish organizations including the Consistory of Paris and the Gemeinde of Warsaw have raised objections to the proposed reform of the calendar.

The purpose of the reform is to do away with "great inconveniences caused in economic life and more specifically in the transport trade by use of the present calendar." The main points of the reform adopted by the Committee for Calendar Reform of the International Astronomical Union are the following: (1) the era should be retained. (2) The length of the year, namely, 365 days or 366 days should be retained. (3) The divisions of the year into days, hours, weeks of seven days, and twelve months, should also be retained (4) the moment at which the reformed year should begin should be moved back and started on December 22, in other words, the first day of the reformed year should begin on December 22 and (5) the year should be composed of fifty-two weeks, of seven days each, further, it should be divided into four quarters of ninety-one days each, that is to say, two months of thirty days and one of thirty-one days, *and leaving one or two blank days at the end of the year.* This is the crux of the matter, namely, the abandonment of the continuity of the weeks. The proposed reform provides really for a year of 364 days with one or two days at the end of the year which shall not be counted at all. It thus involves the moving forward of the Sabbath one day and sometimes two days each year.

In view of the importance of the institution of Sabbath in the religious life of the Jew, your Committee recommends that a committee shall be appointed which shall be in communication with the public bodies in the United States interested in the reform of the calendar like the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Pan-American Union with a view to keep the Conference informed concerning the development in the matter and with a view further to taking action as the Committee might see fit.

II

EDUCATION

During the past year, in many countries including the United States and in Great Britain, Jewish leaders dealt with the question of providing Jewish religious education for the masses of children attending public schools. In New York City, the Jewish Education Association and public spirited men made efforts to attract Jewish children to the *ḥadarim*, talmud torahs, and Sunday schools. These efforts followed a campaign of enlightenment the moving spirit of which was Mr. Louis Marshall of New York. In connection with the drive, President Coolidge wrote as follows: "One of the dangers to America is that those who come here will break with their past. People need something to which they can tie. They need that obedience which is only born of reverence. The sentiment of reverence comes only from knowledge. There is room in our country for everything that is good; there is no restraint here save against evil. Those who come to our shores must bring what they have which is good with them and never cease to cherish it. Teach the ancient landmarks to the youth of the Jewish race. Let them learn to venerate freedom by coming into a knowledge of the truth. That learning and wisdom which has been a sustaining influence to the Jewish race through all the centuries must be preserved for the benefit of mankind. The youth of your people can associate themselves for no more patriotic purpose."

The Spanish delegate to the Council of the League of Nations made three proposals: first, "educational diplomas which do not confer the right to exercise a profession shall be valid in all countries and shall enable their holders to participate in courses of higher instruction." Secondly, "an international autonomous university having academic jurisdiction and freedom, shall be established in one of the four universities of Christendom: Paris, Salamanca, Oxford, or Bologne, with a right of conferring degrees and issuing diplomas which would be recognized in all States, members of the League of Nations. Its professors would be selected from among the most distinguished intellectual and scientific personalities regardless of their nationality." And thirdly, "there shall be created in each of the States, members of the League, a higher educational center for all branches of higher study; diplomas issued by this center would confer in all States a right to exercise professions. The minimum standard of study should be the same in all countries."

These three proposals are of great interest. For at present, education and intellectual activity is hampered in two ways: first, high school graduates of one country cannot attend higher educational institutions in another country without examinations. This obstacle is to be overcome by an agreement among the nations to do away with this practice. Secondly, graduates as educators, scientists, and professors of one country are not recognized as such in another country. This obstacle in the way of the community of the intellectual life of the civilized world, is to be removed first: by establishing in each country one—I take it to mean at least one university whose diplomas should by common agreement be recognized in all countries, and, secondly, by the erection of an international university whose diplomas would be recognized everywhere so that a student who could not or would not enter the one recognized university in his country, might avail himself of the opportunity to go to the international university and then return to his country or go to any other country.

The proposals are now with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. With regard to the proposal of an international university, the Committee was instructed by the League of Nations to "lay down the lines on which it would be most convenient to establish a center of learning for all nations, a scientific laboratory of the most advanced character, an educational training center for the formation of a nucleus of professors for universities throughout the world, an organization for the development and dissemination of world progress in science."

These proposals are of the utmost importance for higher education among the Jews of Central Europe.

The project of a Hebrew University in Palestine received a deal of discussion in the Jewish press during the past year. In the United States, an organization of lawyers was formed in the Fall of 1923 with the view of promoting the establishment of a legal department in the projected university. Concerning this legal department, President Coolidge wrote in part as follows: "it is, of course, precisely in line with the great ambition of Jewish leaders throughout the world, to restore Palestine as a center of progress, and a pivot on which the cultural relations of the East and West may turn. The movement has my best wishes." And Chief Justice Taft wrote: "I hope that such a School of Law, as that you propose, may be established, and may, through its graduates, contribute to the peace of the world and the spread of equity and justice among the peoples of those countries within the influence of such a university."

Concerning new schools and technical seminaries, we note the establishment during the year of the Hebrew Union College School for Teachers in New York City. The school opened on November 4, 1923, and it proved from the very beginning a success. It met the needs of the New York Jewish community.

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America launched a drive for $1,000,000 endowment fund and at this writing has secured pledges for the amount of $940,000. It is gratifying to note that the drive had the goodwill and the co-operation of the reform wing in this country.

The Isaac Elhanan Seminary in New York took steps to put the institution on a solid financial basis and also to gain some academic standing.

In foreign countries, the Association of Jewish Communities of the Serb, Croat and Slovene State decided, late in 1923, to establish at Sarajevo a seminary for the training of rabbis and communal functionaries. Similarly, the Jewish Community of Tangiers decided to establish a seminary for the training of rabbis.

Your Committee recommends that the Conference felicitate the Association of Jewish Communities of Jugo-Slavia and the Jewish Community of Tangiers in their efforts to become independent in matters of communal spiritual leadership.

III

JEWISH FAMILY LIFE

Mr. F. M. Mehew, Secretary of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Great Britain, in an address at Newcastle-on-the-Tyne, stated that very few cases of child-neglect or cruelty among Jews come to the attention of the society. In twenty-one years, the directorate of the society had never ordered a prosecution against a Jew or Jewess for child-neglect; while, as a matter of fact, last year the society dealt with 38,000 cases involving 95,627 children. Mr. Mehew then made the following statement, "if everyone treated their children as experience showed the Jewish race did in this country, there would be little need for the society."

LIBERALISM

In Slovakia, the eastern part of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, the reform congregations, which in that country passed under the name of Neologue Communities, reversed their stand and decided to become orthodox congregations. In the summer of 1923, Neologue congregations and the congregations known there as "Status quo" communities held a conference and decided to unite forming one National Association of Communities with the *Shulḥan Aruch* as the supreme authority.

Early in the Fall, a number of British Jews, living in Jerusalem, some of whom were high officials, who, in their native country, are members of reform temples, discussed the advisability of the organization of reform congregations in Jerusalem. The Palestine Jewish press-organs which brought the matter into the open, united to condemn the proposition. At this writing, nothing more has been heard of it.

In Germany, the Union of Jewish Women, together with other associations of women like the Women's Zionist Society, set aside the week of

March 23-29, 1924, for a drive to popularize their demand that women be given the right to vote and to be elected as officers in the Kultusgemeinde. The appeal issued by these women's organizations demands the abolition, in conformity with the custom of the land, of the law of 1847 which deprives women from voting and from becoming officers in the Kultusgemeinde. The press of the Liberal Vereinigung is supporting the movement.

In Austria, the community of Vienna has decided to give women the right to vote in spite of the protest of the orthodox element; and in England, a committee has been appointed by the United Synagog to consider the matter of giving the franchise to women. At this writing, the matter has not yet been considered by the executive committee of that body.

COMMUNISTS' WAR ON JUDAISM

As is known, the communists in Soviet Russia carried on an intensified campaign against religion as a whole. The Jewish Section, a small body of workingmen which has charge of communist activities among the Jewish masses, was energetically engaged in a war on all the vantage points of Judaism. It engaged: (1) in the closing the *ḥadarim* and *yeshiboth;* (2) the institution among Jews of the observance of days other than the Sabbath and the Jewish holidays; (3) the confiscation of synagogs; and (4) propaganda among the masses against institutions of Judaism like circumcision, religious marriage, etc., and against religion as a whole. The propaganda was by means of the press, lectures, and especially public demonstrations.

In the Spring of 1923, the Eleventh Communist Congress adopted a resolution calling upon members to avoid as much as possible in their campaign against religion to hurt the religious feelings of people and to abstain from the use of coarse acts, as for instance, the ridicule of the religious ceremonies. The *Pravda,* Moscow, wrote: "many communists carry on an exaggerated, fanatical war on religion. An end must be put to this fanaticism of the communists. We must especially be careful not to declare war on religion in the village. We must be cautious not to hurt the national feelings of people. In this war against religion, many coarse and tactless acts were committed. We must avoid them in the future." Soon thereafter, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of the Ukraine Communist Party, etc., issued orders to put an end to certain acts in the war on religion. The Central Committee of Trade Unions issued a circular letter to the local unions in which the Executive Committee called upon the unions to show tolerance to those members who were religious. It further prohibited the unions from persecuting members who were religious and from putting forth demands that Monday be made the day of rest instead of Sunday, or, that Sunday be made the day of rest instead of Saturday, or, that churches be confiscated. In the Fall, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine

issued a circular which expressly forbade the Jewish Section of the Communist Party in the Ukraine to do what they did in previous years, namely, to engage in public demonstrations against the Jews' observance of the Fall holidays. Thus, the Spring, Summer, and Fall of 1923, witnessed a change of policy on the part of the Soviets in their war on religion.

The immediate cause of the communists' change of policy was the concentrated protest of the public opinion of the world. We can be brief about it. In the Winter of 1923, there took place at Moscow the trial of some Catholic prelates. The trial and the execution later of Prelate Buchkawitch stirred the civilized world. Indignation in Poland ran high. In France, early in May, 1923, representatives of all the denominations issued a joint appeal to public opinion of the world. The document read: "The Soviet Government is trying to uproot religion from the souls of the people as useless and dangerous, and is employing every means to arrive at that result, including confiscation of property, profanation of churches and synagogs, parodies on religious ceremonies, official atheistic schools, and prison, torture and death." In the face of the concentrated onslaught of the public opinion of the world, the Soviets found it advisable to order a "retreat."

It must not, however, be supposed that the communists have abandoned their war on religion and the Jewish Section, its war on Judaism. Far from it. The drive against institutions like the religious marriage, and circumcision, is carried on with greater vigor than before. As for the Sabbath and the holidays, last Fall, the communists organized in the clubs, lectures on Jewish religion, especially against the Jewish religious holidays, and held meetings on the days of the festivals in the clubs where anti-religious theatrical pieces were presented. This was in accordance with the express orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. As an example of the bitterness and the length to which Jewish Sections went during the year in their fight against Judaism, we may cite their behaviour in the town of Belo-Tcherkov. There, the administrators of the Soviet school with yiddish as the language of instruction resolved that the children should attend school on Saturdays and rest instead on Tuesdays during the period of the Jewish High Holy Days. As for confiscation of churches and synagogs, the press reported the requisition of synagogs in many places. But it is in their opposition to the religious education that the communists did not recede. They even went a step further. Early in 1924, the Government issued a decree abolishing all private schools, secular as well as religious. The decree provided that teachers and parents who violated this regulation were liable to penalties especially if they gave instruction to groups of more than three children. All during the year, the press reported trials of Jewish teachers for maintaining *ḥadarim* in secret. So for instance, sixteen Jewish teachers were tried at Baku, and at Babrouisk the Government sentenced a teacher to eight months at hard labor.

Recently, Deputy Spera asked the Assistant Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons whether the Government intended to insert a clause in the proposed Anglo-Russian agreement to the effect that Russia grant full religious freedom to all religious communities of the land. The Secretary replied that he did not think that it would be feasible to take such a step but that he hoped that with the return of normal and peaceful conditions when the internal condition of Russia would be secure, the Soviets would find it possible to accept the principle of religious tolerance. The press, however, reported that British Jewry is at present interested in the matter. In this connection, we must say that it is to the honor of British Jewry through its Joint Foreign Committee to have been the first, as far as I know, to call the attention of the world to the Soviet's war on religion months before the trial of the prelates.

Your Committee recommends (1) that this Conference pass resolutions condemning religious intolerance in Soviet Russia and (2) that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Joint Foreign Committee in London for the latter's information.

IV

ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA

Late in the Summer of 1923, a very important step was taken, according to the JTA, by the Central Commission on the Supervision of Theatres in the matter of fighting anti-Semitic propaganda. The Commission issued a decree prohibiting the production of plays, sketches, songs, patter, etc., which ridiculed minorities or placed them in a comic light. The decree forbade actors the use on the stage of an accent or an intonation likely to suggest the peculiar characteristics of the minorities. I was unable to verify the above news item. The decree, if true, was probably issued by a local Soviet, possibly the Soviet of the city of Moscow.

Congressman Lindsay of New York, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives in December, 1923, described as the "Anti-Intolerance Act." The bill provides that an association shall be held to be unlawful, first, if said association should attempt "to bring into disrepute or interfere with any religion or religious belief, or the practice thereof" and secondly, if said association should publish "in a newspaper devoted exclusively to that purpose" any threatening or inciting statements of a comprehensive or general nature against any religion, without including specific names, dates or places, whereby the individual offended might have protection or redress under the State libel laws. At this writing, the bill has not been reported out of committee.

Your Committee recommends (1) that the Central Conference of American Rabbis pass resolutions favoring legislation making it a libel to publish in the press any threatening or inciting statements of a comprehensive or general nature against any religion or denomination without including specific names, dates, or places whereby

V

an individual offender might have protection or redress under the State libel laws, and (2) that the Conference support the Lindsay Anti-Intolerance Bill, provided the bill be amended so as to agree with the above stated resolution.

NUMERUS CLAUSUS

The International Congress of Sociology which was held at Rome, April 20-22, 1924, unanimously passed a resolution declaring that "the Third International Congress of Sociology emphatically affirms that the enforcement (by whichever authority and in whatever form) of *numerus clausus* in the universities constitutes an offense against the primary and inviolable right of every person to obtain education and thus contribute to the progress of humanity."

This is the latest expression of opposition on the part of the liberal and enlightened public opinion of the world to the attempt to limit admission to the universities on the basis of nationality and religion. In another place, I shall refer to the vigorous and successful action taken by the League of Nations to stop *numerus clausus* in Poland.

EXCESSES

The year passed without serious excesses and pogroms against the Jews. Anti-Jewish disturbances took place in the Spring of 1923, in Warsaw, in connection with the trial of the Catholic prelate in Soviet Russia, and the execution by the Government of Mgr. Butchkawicz. The riots there were especially noteworthy because of the lesson that it teaches us as to how the anti-Semitic press can and does create anti-Jewish feeling leading up to riots and also because of the action that the Jews took as a protest, namely, the strike and the public demonstration.

In the Fall of 1923, anti-Jewish excesses occurred in Berlin which was described as a pogrom lasting three days. On November 5, 1923, about 10,000 unemployed assembled in front of the Labor Office in Berlin to receive their "doles." About 11 o'clock in the morning of that day, word came that there was no money to dole out. Speakers belonging to the monarchists and anti-Semitic *Deutschvoelkische Partei* took advantage of the situation, addressed the crowds, and called upon them to plunder Jewish shops. One hour later, well organized bands, mostly youth, invaded the streets inhabited by Jews in the center of the city and crying, "Kill the Jews", beat, rioted and plundered. With nightfall, the disorders gained in intensity and spread to other parts of the city. The pogrom was resumed on the following day with *Deutschvoelksiche* speakers everywhere agitating the crowds "to pogrom the Jewish population." Police finally restored order. The government ordered a com-

mission to investigate the disorders and to submit an estimate of the losses. With the exception of the anti-Semitic press and the anti-Semitic organizations, German public opinion as a unit condemned the riots. The statement of the United Trades' Council of Greater Berlin is especially instructive. The statement declared as follows: *"Deutschvoelkische* agitators incited masses of unemployed to pogroms. The great attack upon the Jewish district was carefully and deliberately planned by *Deutschvoelkische* demagogs. They desired to show by these disorders that only a dictatorship of the Right can insure order."

The most outrageous act was committed in the town of Csongrad in Hungary. The Jewish Ladies' Society of that town gave a charity dance on Christmas Eve. Anti-Semites attacked the hall where the dance was given and threw a hand grenade in the midst of the dancers killing two Jews and wounding nearly forty others, one of which number died later. Police arrested thirteen persons and discovered that the arrested were members of a secret organization by the name of Alfoeld Brigade allied with the Awakening Magyars. The Csomngrad outrage came up for discussion in the National Assembly on January 2, 1924. Members of the opposition demanded that the Government dissolve all illegal associations, including the Association of Awakening Magyars, and take measures against the reactionary press and its agitation. This the Government of Bethlen refused to do. Hungary, however, seems to be now a bit more orderly.

Concerning regions or districts where Jewish life and property was insecure during the past year, we note that in Germany, Bavaria was a center of anti-Jewish agitation and excesses. Also East Prussia was a region of insecurity. In Poland, the center of disturbances was Posnania. Early in 1924, Deputy Farbstein stated in the Seim that anti-Jewish excesses in that district had become a matter of daily occurrence.

In Roumania, excesses against Jews occurred all during the year in the university cities. On March 29, 1924, riots broke out in Bucharest whence they spread to Transylvania, Banat, Bukowina, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. At present, nothing more can be said on this recent wave of excesses.

Another district was Macedonia. In February, 1924, the League de Droit de l'Homme, Paris, appealed to the Bulgarian representative in Paris, asking that he call upon his Government to take measures to protect the Jews.

Still another region was Yemen in Arabia. Appeals received in Palestine from Yemen described the persecution of Jews by the Arab population, including kidnapping of brides, torture of aged men and women, and compulsory conversion of men and women to Mohammedanism.

On December 3, 1923, Representative Celler of Brooklyn, New York, announced that owing to the anti-Semitic movement in Germany and to the riots and disorders in Bavaria and Berlin, he was staying his

hand in introducing into the House a joint resolution for the appropriation of $25,000,000 for the relief of the suffering population of Germany and asked for enlightenment and advice on this matter. A few days later, however, the Congressman introduced his resolution for the relief of starving Germans and stated that he did not feel it was just "to visit the sins of the irresponsibles on the innocent and guiltless victims." The German press devoted space to Mr. Celler's action. The liberal press drew the moral that the anti-Jewish agitation was costly to the entire German people.

Your Committee recommends (1) that the Conference pass resolutions condemning violence, especially the Csongrad outrage, and the riots in Berlin; (2) that the Executive Board shall consider the advisability of taking action in co-operation with other organizations with a view to ascertaining the present status of security in the district of Posnania in Poland, Roumania, Macedonia, and Yemen; and (3) that the Executive Board be authorized to take action in the light of the information secured.

VI

IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

Complete statistics of the extent of Jewish migration during the past year are not available. During 1923, 49,300 Jews entered the United States, 3,300 less than in the previous year. The number of departures was negligible; only 413 emigrant Jews left the country. Next came Palestine with 7,250 admissions and about 3,500 departures and Canada with 2,800 admissions. As for Argentine, statistics for 1923 are lacking but during 1922, 7,200 Jews were admitted. It is probable that Jewish immigration was numerous also during 1923. Statistics are not available for Jewish immigration to the Union of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, and American countries like Brazil, Cuba and Mexico, but Jewish immigration to those countries was quite small. According to press reports, great numbers of immigrants were stranded in Cuba at the end of 1923. All in all, I estimate about 75,000 Jews immigrated to the so-called over-sea countries during the past year, of which number nearly 50,000 came to the United States.

Late in 1923, Congressman Johnson in the House and Senator Lodge in the Senate introduced a bill, the chief feature of which was that the Government permanently limit the number of immigrants to two per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of any nationality according to the census of 1890. The bill was fought. A Jewish delegation, headed by Mr. Louis Marshall appeared, on January 3, 1924, before the Immigration Committee and openly charged that the bill was discriminatory and un-American. Similarly, the National Catholic Welfare Conference protested in a memorandum to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Also many corporate bodies including the

Senate of Massachusetts adopted resolutions of protest on the ground of the discriminatory nature of the bill. On February 4, 1924, the minority report submitted to the House by Congressmen Sabath and Dickstein averred that the 1890 provision was based on "unfounded anthropological theory." Later, twenty of the twenty-two democratic members of the House of Representatives from the State of New York issued a joint declaration, stating that the 1890 basis for the quotas "was deliberately selected to favor the so-called Nordic races and discriminate against races from Southern and Eastern Europe." In spite of these charges, the immigration bill, containing the discriminatory clause, passed both Houses and was signed by the President. It will be a part of the law of the land on July 1st.

VII Your Committee recommends (1) that the Conference protest as a matter of record against the provision making the 1890 census the basis of the quotas, and (2) that the Conference protest against the clause providing for the exclusion of peoples of the yellow race.

Early in 1924, it became known that it has been proposed that the Soviet Government allocate to Jews for colonization Northern Crimea, including the cities of Odessa, Kherson, and Nikolaiev on the Black Sea, which district should in 1927 be designated as the Jewish Autonomous State.

Recently, the Ukrainian Government resolved that it take up with the Federal Soviet Government the question of setting aside for Jewish colonization state land in South Ukraine and in North Crimea, and that the Government consider the question of granting special funds for colonization. The resolution declared that there were available 800,000 *desiatin* of uncultivated land and that a large colonization in this uncultivated region was "an urgent necessity for the economic welfare of the entire country," and, further, that it would be necessary to get the financial assistance of Jewish organizations abroad who were active in the Soviet Republics.

VIII Your Committee recommends that this Conference go on record as a religious body, that American Israel is opposed to the extension of assistance with a view to the realization of plans for the colonization of Jews in Crimea and in Southern Russia and other parts unless Soviet authorities give assurance that the settlers will be granted religious freedom, specifically the right to establish and to maintain at their own cost religious schools and Hebrew schools.

FOREIGN RELIEF

All through the past year the American Joint Distribution Committee was engaged in winding up its affairs in Europe and in the United States. In 1923, the JDC appropriated in round numbers, $9,110,000. Of these enormous sums, $2,548,870 was appropriated for re-

lief and reconstruction in Russia and the Ukraine; Poland, $1,528,580, and Palestine, $1,236,700. Smaller sums were appropriated for: Germany, $595,700; Lithuania, $347,660; Czecho-Slovakia, $272,580; Roumania, $217,500; Turkey, $231,980; Latvia, $158,990. Still smaller amounts, a total of $239,680 were appropriated for Abyssinia, Austria, Bulgaria, Cuba, Esthonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Old Hungary (cultural), Italy, Serbia, Switzerland, Japan. In addition, $961,520 was appropriated to A. R. A. Central Relief, People's Relief, Ezrath Torah Fund, etc., and $750,000 was set aside for turning over to the Reconstruction Foundation.

Late in the spring of 1924, there was organized the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. The new organization is made up of twenty members representing the JDC (6), the IAC (6), and other influential groups in America and in Europe (8). This Foundation will receive from the JDC in due time, the assets of the Reconstruction Committee (save those which relate to Palestine since other provisions have been made for the reconstruction activities in that country), $750,000 unappropriated money, about $300,000 previously appropriated, and other assets belonging to the JDC, such as loans, advances, investments, equipment, etc. The Foundation on its part is pledged to continue as far as possible the activities heretofore undertaken by the JDC.

In view of the assistance which the Conference and its members have lent in the collection of the war relief funds, in view of the Conference's position as a central body in American Israel, and in view of the import-

IX ance of the Reconstruction Foundation, it being for the first time in the history of the Jews in America that a permanent fund was established for relief of Jews in foreign countries, in view of these considerations, your committee recommends that the Conference declare its interest in the future work of the Foundation and instruct the Executive Board to take interest in the future work of the Foundation and to report to the Conference. A copy of this resolution to be sent to the Reconstruction Foundation.

MINORITY RIGHTS

Early in July, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* a French association, and the Joint Foreign Committee, a British Association, protested to the League of Nations concerning the then proposed legislation in introducing *numerus clausus* in Poland. In accordance with the League's procedure, this protest was sent to the Polish Government for observation. The Polish Government replied to the Secretary General of the League of Nations that it declined to take cognizance of the complaints on the ground that the associations which entered the complaint were foreign associations who, so it maintained, had no rights to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland. The Secretary-General then took decisive action. He rejected the Polish contention and gave notice that the case would go forward without the Polish observations. Accordingly, the petitions were circulated among the

members of the Council and sent to a committee of three for examination. The Polish Government thereupon informed the committee that it had postponed the introduction of a bill concerning *numerus clausus.*

The importance of the matter lies in the fact that it probably established a precedent that public bodies may petition the League concerning the infringing by a foreign country of the rights of its minorities. The precedent is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as a ruling by the League in favor of the Polish contention would have had the effect of completely nullifying the minority treaties. For a government can always exercise pressure upon a local association to prevent it from complaining to the League.

During the past year, the Polish Government for the first time recognized the right of the Jewish religious communities to government subsidies. On January 25, 1924, the government decided to subsidize the Jewish religious communities. The amount decided upon, however, was the miserable sum of 2,000 zlotas ($400). The Jews protested and called attention to the fact that the Government subsidized the small Mohammedan community with much larger sums, and the evangelical communities which are not larger than the Jewish communities with 92,962 zlotas and moved to eliminate the subsidy altogether. At the suggestion of Premier Grabski, Seim voted a subsidy of 10,000 zlotas ($2,000). Jewish deputies considered the Seim's action as a mockery.

In the Spring of 1924, Poland permitted the Jewish *Kehilloth* of Congress Poland to hold elections for officers and elections were held in June, 1924. Further, the press reported that the Government decided to create an under-secretariat of State for the affairs of the national minorities.

In Lithuania, the Cabinet decided that the Seim acted unconstitutionally in its abolition of the ministry for Jewish Affairs, and decided to re-establish it.

On the other hand, the press reported that the Government party introduced a resolution in the Seim providing for the abolition of the present law permitting the existence of city-wide *Kehilloth.*

PALESTINE

On June 27, 1923, the then Secretary for the Colonies, Duke of Devonshire, denounced in the House of Lords, those people who "speak of the Balfour Declaration as though it were something we could take up or lay aside to suit our own convenience" and states that the mandate is not merely a national, but an international obligation, and the Balfour Declaration is the basis on which we accepted from the Allied Powers our position as the Mandatory for Palestine. We should be taking grave risks, not only with regard to Palestine, but the other Powers, if we should resign that trust."

In December, 1923, new elections to the House of Commons took place in Great Britain, which brought to power the Labor Party. For a time,

there was doubt as to the attitude of the new Government towards the idea of a National Home in Palestine. Early in 1924, Minister for the Colonies, J. H. Thomas, in a letter to the House of Commons, wrote as follows: "The Government has decided, after careful consideration of all circumstances, to adhere to the policy of giving effect to the Balfour Declaration of 1917, under which Britain undertook to promote the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of other communities in the country. This policy was embodied in the mandate for Palestine, which was approved by the League of Nations." So much for the British policy in Palestine.

There was political unrest in Palestine. Elections for a Legislative Council were held between February 20-28, 1923, but due to the boycott by the Moslem Christian Association, the Palestine Administration annulled the elections. The Government then tried to re-establish the Advisory Council, consisting as it did previously of twelve members: 8 Mohammedans, 2 Christians and 2 Jews. That, too, failed. On October 11, 1923, High Commissioner Samuel, addressing a meeting of Arab notables, proposed to create an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, the former to control immigration by reason of the fact that the immigration committee will consist of "not less than four Moslems, one Christian, and only one Jew." The Arab notables rejected the proposal.

In November, the Secretary for the Colonies, Duke of Devonshire, declared that the Government had made three successive proposals with a view to closer association of the Arab community with the administration of Palestine, every one of which was turned down by the Arabs, and stated that the Government has decided not to repeat the attempt.

Early in December, the High Commissioner appointed an Advisory Council, consisting solely of Government officers. Thus came to an end during the year the futile attempts to give Palestine measures of self-government.

As for immigration, during 1923, a total of 7,252 Jews and 737 Christians and Moslems entered the country. During the same period of time, 3,466 Jews left Palestine, being a net increase of 3,788 through immigration. The total number of Jews that entered the country since December 9, 1917, amount to 33,893.

On January 25, 1924, Mr. Louis Marshall, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and others, issued a call to American Jews to meet in conference for an interchange of ideas relative to the participation of non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency and relative to the organization of Jews by the United States and European countries of a finance or investment corporation to provide capital for the various industrial, agricultural and commercial enterprises in Palestine. On February 17, 1924, the conference took place in New York City, which resulted in the creation of two committees, one on the organization of an investment corporation, with Col. Herbert H. Lehman as chairman, and the

other on the study of the subject of a Jewish Agency, with Dr. Cyrus Adler as chairman.

In France, the Association of French Rabbis at the general assembly at Strasbourg, on June 26, 27, 1923, adopted a resolution stating that the association proclaimed that Jewish colonization of the Holy Land had always been and still was more than ever an obligation of the highest importance; that, on the other hand, the French rabbis considered that the national and political doctrines of Zionism, recognized as of great moral and ideal value for millions of co-religionists, were not however in accord with the principles of French Judaism and with the conception of a universal Judaism; and that the association favored the creation of a society with a view to the participating of the entire French Jewry in the rebuilding of the Jewish Palestine.

The past year witnessed an expression of interest in the restoration of Palestine on the part of organizations until then hostile to this movement. In 1923, the United Hebrew Trades received an invitation from the General Jewish Federation of Labor in Palestine requesting that the former send a delegation to visit Palestine, the implication being that if the delegation returns a favorable report, the Jewish labor organizations in this country might deem it fit to extend a helping hand to Jewish labor in Palestine. The invitation caused a good deal of stir in Jewish labor circles in New York. After many conferences, the United Hebrew Trades and other labor organizations decided to launch a campaign for raising $150,000 with a view to doing reconstruction work in Palestine through the agency of the Jewish Federation of Labor in Palestine. At the opening of the campaign, Mr. Max Pine, the secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, and a non-Zionist, began his address by saying "the ban on Palestine has this day been lifted."

To sum up the situation in Palestine, first, in spite of vigorous attacks, the Balfour Declaration has remained the basis of the British policy in Palestine and the political status of Palestine seems assured; secondly, the paucity of the net gain of Jewish immigration over emigration, namely, 3,700 seems to indicate that economic conditions or political conditions, or both, are not quite satisfactory from the Jewish point of view; and thirdly, the movement for the upbuilding of Palestine is becoming more and more universal among the Jews of all shades of opinion.

During the past year, steps were taken to put the National Hebrew Library in Jerusalem on a firm basis. A number of Jews in the United States who owned land on the Mount of Olives, agreed to donate a site for a building to house the library. Early in 1924, steps were taken to organize an American committee for the Hebrew and National University Library in Jerusalem with a view to raising a building fund of $125,000 and to covering the yearly budget of $30,000 to be derived partly from an endowment fund and partly from contributions by congregations.

Your Committee recommends that this Conference co-operate with the American Committee or any other committee with a view to the

building of a home for the library and the raising of an en-
X dowment fund.

ANNIVERSARIES

In addition to the anniversaries of Steinthal and Lazarus, we note the centenary anniversary of Bene Israel Congregation of Cincinnati, O. It was celebrated on January 18-19, 1924. It is the oldest congregation west of the Atlantic Seaboard. On the occasion of the celebration Rabbi Philipson received congratulations from the President of the United States.

Early in December, 1923, Jews in Eastern Europe, and also in many cities in other countries, celebrated the 100th anniversary of the first Yiddish newspaper in Eastern Europe, *Der Beobachter an der Weichsel,* Dec. 3, 1823, editor, Anton Eisbaum. It was a weekly and only 44 numbers appeared. It was printed in Rashi script with the Hebrew words in ordinary square letters. It also had a Polish page.

OBITUARY

During the past year, the Jewish people lost a number of its great men who were leaders in the Rabbinate, in Jewish scholarship and communal life, and in the world of literature and science. We cannot mention the names of all those whose death Israel mourns; we note the following rabbis in addition to the loss sustained by American Israel in the death of Rabbi Henry Berkowitz:

Rabbi **Armand Bloch** was chief rabbi of Belgium, a famous preacher and a great patriot. Born in Paris, he received his rabbinical education in the seminary at Paris. He served as rabbi at Toul, Algiers, Nancy, and was finally elected Chief Rabbi of Belgium where he served the last thirty-three years of his life. During the war, he displayed his courage and patriotism. In consequence of his refusal to sign a written statement to obey the orders of the Germans who then occupied his country, he was considered "under suspicion." In his Passover sermon in 1916, while speaking of the Exodus, he said: "People who do not demand their liberty but resign themselves to slavery are cowards." For that statement, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. After the war, the Belgium Government honored him for "services rendered to the country during the enemy occupation." The rabbi died at Brussels on August 31, 1923.

Rabbi **Samuel Hirsch Danziger** was one of the most famous Ḥassidic rabbis in Poland. He was known as the Tsadic of Alexander, the town where he lived and had an immense Ḥassidic following. The rabbi died at Alexander on October 4, 1923, at the age of 67.

Rabbi **Eliezer Rabbinowitsch** was known in his youth as the *illui* of Kiev. He became rabbi of a small town near Minsk and later the Chief rabbi of Minsk. He was one of the greatest rabbinic authorities in Eastern Europe and was known among orthodox Jews as the Minsker Gadol. The rabbi died on February 8, 1924, at the age of 65.

Of leaders in Jewish scholarship and communal life, Dr. **Joseph Samuel Bloch** was an author, and one who successfully fought in the cause of Israel in his day. Born in the small town of Dukla, Galicia, on November 30, 1860, he received his education in the *yeshiboth* and later in the German universities. Dr. Bloch served as rabbi in a small town near Vienna, and while there, he made himself famous in the blood libel of Ticza-Esler. In 1884, he was elected to the Austrian Parliament as deputy for Western Galicia. Dr. Bloch was the founder and editor of *Oestreichische Wochenschrift* in Vienna and the author of the great work, *Israel and the Nations*. He died in Vienna, on October 1, 1923, at the age of 73.

Dr. **Isidor Eliashow,** better known under his *nomme de plume* as Baal Mahashaboth, was one of the greatest literary critics in the Hebrew and Yiddish literatures and an influential Jewish journalist. Born in Kovno in 1872, he received his education in the *yeshiboth* and in the universities in Switzerland and Germany. His literary activity was begun in 1895, first, in the Russian and in the German languages and, later, in Yiddish, in Hebrew, and in Polish. In 1910, he became the editor of a Yiddish paper. Dr. Eliashow died in Kovno, January 14, 1924, at the age of 51.

Dr. **Azriel Nathan Frank** was a Yiddish and Hebrew journalist and a Jewish historian of note. Born 1865 in the small town of Meldczlow, in the Government of Kielce, Poland, he received his education at the seminary in Cracow and began his literary work in 1888. He is especially known for his studies of the History of the Jews in Poland. Dr. Frank died in Warsaw, on February 1, 1924, at the age of 59.

Mr. **Abraham Solomon Freidus** was librarian of the Jewish division of the New York Public Library and a known figure in the Jewish community of New York City. Born in Riga, Latvia, in 1867, he emigrated to Paris, went to Palestine, and from there came to the United States in 1889. In 1897, he became librarian of the Jewish division of the Public Library of New York City and there he served, always the friend and helper of the scholar and investigator, until his death, in New York City on October 2, 1923, at the age of 56.

Dr. **Eugen Fuchs** was a famous jurist and one of the foremost Jewish leaders in Germany. Born in 1855, he received his education in German universities and settled in Berlin where he published many works on German law. He was one of the founders and the chairman of the *Central Verein deutscher Staatsburger jüdischen Glaubens.* He was one of the foremost defenders of the Jews in his country against anti-Semitic attacks. Dr. Fuchs died in Berlin on December 23, 1923, at the age of 68.

Dr. **Benzion Halper** was one of the greatest Jewish scholars in the Judea-Arabic literature. Born in 1882 in the small town of Yanewe in Lithuania, he received his education in the *yeshiboth* and in the higher institutions of learning in England and in America. He came to the United States in 1911 and a year later, was appointed a Fellow at the Dropsie College where he later became associate professor of Arabic and Talmud. While at Dropsie College, he discovered an Arabic manuscript which proved to be the "Book of Precepts" by Hephez ben Yasliah, an author of the tenth century. He published the manuscript with a Hebrew translation and later published other works of note. Dr. Halper died in Philadelphia on March 21, 1924, at the age of 42.

Dr. **S. A. Hirsch** was a scholar and teacher and British-Jewish journalist of great note. Born in 1843 in Amsterdam, he received his early training from his brother and at the age of 19 went to Berlin where he studied at the university of that city, and at the *Beth Hamidrash.* In 1867, he went to Frankfort, then to Russia, and finally to London where he became the teacher of theology in Jews' College, and the editor of the *Jewish Standard* and later *Palestina.* Dr. Hirsch died in London on October 15, 1923, at the age of 80.

Dr. **Judah Theodor** was a rabbi and the greatest authority on Midrashic literature. Born in a small town in East Prussia in 1849, he received his education at Breslau and at Königsberg. He was rabbi at Bromberg and later at Posen. He is especially famous in Israel for his monumental work on Midrashic literature, his scientific edition of the Midrash Rabba. He died in Berlin early in September, 1923, at the age of 75 years.

Mr. **Fritz Mauthner** was one of the greatest forces in the group of Letters. Born in a small town in Bohemia in 1845 he moved in his youth to Berlin where he entered the field of journalism. His most famous works were printed during the last twenty-five years of his life. They are: *Beitraege zur Eine Kritik der Sprache,* 3v. 1901-1923; *Woerterbuch der Philosophie,* 2v. 1910; and *Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande,* 4v. 1920-1923. Fritz Mauthner died on June 29, 1923, at the age of 73 years.

Mr. Ze'eb Yaabez was a Hebrew journalist, historian, and a great leader of modern orthodoxy. He was born at Kolna, Poland, in 1847. In 1891, he began to issue his Hebrew publication *Ha-arez,* with a view to creating an "enlightened orthodoxy." His most famous works are the History of the Jewish People, his edition of the daily prayer book under the name of *Abodath ha-Lebaboth* with commentaries, all in Hebrew. He died in London, January 24, 1924, at the age of 77.

Of the leaders in the world of science, Dr. **Harold Goldschmidt** was one of the greatest authorities on veterinary diseases in the world. He was born in 1867 at Copenhagen and was professor at the university there. He died in his native city on December 23, 1923, at the age of 56. (The above statements are made on the basis of a note communicated to me by Professor Simonsen of Copenhagen.)

Dr. **Wilhelm Jerusalem** was a philosopher and psychologist, proud of his Judaism, and a Jewish leader. He was born in Drenic in Bohemia on October 11, 1854. He received his Jewish education from private tutors. "Scores of years later, he would point out that it was just that Jewish education which gave content, force, and direction to his views on life and the world. He later studied at the higher institutions of learning at Prague, where he became a teacher in a gymnasium. In 1891, he became a *privatdozent* in philosophy at the University of Vienna, "but because of his being a Jew, the Government refused to appoint him professor. Only after twenty-nine years of activity as *privatdozent,* in 1920, the first (predominantly socialist) Government of the new Austrian Republic appointed him extraordinary professor and a few weeks before his death, he was made full professor." He was a prolific writer and many of his works of philosophy and psychology have received world recognition. His Introduction to Philosophy which first appeared in 1899 has gone through nine editions and has been translated into eight languages, including English, Russian, Hebrew and Japanese. His works are copiously illustrated with facts taken from Jewish literature and they are all imbued with the spirit of Judaism. Dr. Jerusalem died in Vienna on July 15, 1923, at the age of 70. (The above statements and the quotations are from a long and interesting necrology communicated to me by Dr. Hugo Knopfmacher of Vienna, dated November 13, 1923.)

Dr. **Jacques Loeb,** according to Dr. Flexner, was one of the world's ten greatest scientists and biologists. He was born in Germany, April 7, 1859, and came to the United States in 1890. In his native country, he taught physiology and biology in the universities of Wuerzburg and Strasburg. Upon his coming to the United States, he taught at Bryn Mawr, the University of Chicago, and the University of California, and finally was called to the head of the Division of Physiology

of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York. His life work centered in the pursuit of the knowledge of the real distinction between living and dead matter. Dr. Loeb died at Hamilton, Bermuda, on February 11, 1924, at the age of 65.

Dr. **Boris Sidis** was an internationally known authority on psychology and psychopathology. He was born in 1868 and is the author of numerous works on psychology and psychopathy. He died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on October 24, 1923, at the age of 56.

Signed,

HARRY S. LINFIELD, *Chairman,*
BARNETT R. BRICKNER,
MAXIMILIAN HELLER.

The report was received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The amendments to the Constitution proposed at the previous convention were taken up for consideration.

The amendment to Article III, Section 1, referring to membership, namely, to admit to membership Jewish professors in Semitic academies or faculties, was laid on the table. The amendment to exclude ministers who are not graduates of a theological seminary was lost.

The amendment to Article VI, Section 1, making the term of office of members of the Executive Board two years instead of three, was adopted.

The amendment to Article III, Section 14, making the Committee on Solicitation a Standing Committee of the Conference, was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Responsa was read by Rabbi Lauterbach.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESPONSA

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Of the many questions addressed to your committee during the past year the following two are the most interesting, and the responsa given in answer will, it is hoped, be of interest to the members of the Conference. The first question was addressed to the Chairman and answered by him. The second was addressed to Prof. Samuel S. Cohon, a member of the committee, and the responsum has been elaborated by him in concurrence with the chairman.

I.

Question:

Shall Person Called to the Torah Recite Only the Benediction?

Will you please explain to me when and how the custom originated that the person who is called up to the Torah merely recites the benediction before and after the section from the Torah is read, while the reading itself is done by the Hazan? Was it due to a decrease of the knowledge of Hebrew among the people? I recall that in one of the classes in Talmud I took with you we read a Talmudic saying to the effect that consideration for the ignorant caused the rabbis to institute the practice that when a person who was inexperienced in reading had to recite some passages from the Torah, an expert reader would do it in his stead. But I regret to say I no longer remember where the passage is found.

Answer:

In the Mishnah *Bikkurim* III, 6, there is reported the institution that an expert should recite with the farmer, who brings the first fruit offering, the section from Deut. XXVI, 5-10, which it is the duty of the farmer to recite at this occasion. It is also stated there in the Mishnah, that formerly the farmer who was himself able to read would recite this section from the Torah by himself and only those farmers who were unable to read were assisted by an expert. But then the farmers who were unable to read refrained from bringing the offering, not wishing to display their ignorance in public. The authorities therefore instituted the custom that an expert reader should recite the passage with every farmer, even with those who could read it by themselves. The ignorant could therefore bring his offering without running the risk of having to show his ignorance. But there is, to my knowledge, no express statement found in the Talmud that a similar practice has been instituted in connection with the regular readings from the Torah in the Synagog on Sabbaths, Holydays, Fastdays or Monday and Thursday. The Mishnah (*Megilla* IV, 1-2), prescribing the number of people who would participate in the reading on Weekdays, on Holidays and on Sabbath, presupposes that these people would divide among themselves the section to be read on that day and each one would read his part without any assistance on the part of the official reader. Nowhere is it stated that an expert reader would assist the individual who took part in the reading or read his portion for him. As a matter of fact there was no need for instituting such a practice. In the case of the farmer bringing his first fruit offering, it was his duty to recite the passage

from Deuteronomy and when he was unable to do so, one had to help him in the performing of his duty. But in the case of the public reading in the Synagog the main duty was that the section from the Torah be read to the public, and this duty could be and actually was performed by those who were able to read. And there was no need to call up ignorant people and have the expert reader help them to read a section from the weekly portion when they could call up only such as were able to read. (comp. *Or Zarua* II הלכות שבת 42, p. 19 and *Shibbole ha-Leket* chapter 36)

There are, however, indications, though no express report, which would justify one in assuming that already in talmudic times, in some localities at least, the custom was introduced that an expert reader would read the entire section for the Sabbath or holiday or assist the ignorant in reading their portion. For, as can well be imagined, it must have happened in some small communities that there were not in the entire congregation seven persons expert in reading who could divide among themselves the section to be read on the Sabbath. In such a case one man who knew how to read would have to read the entire weekly section or a large part of it. This would especially be the case in communities outside of Palestine where the people were not so familiar with the Hebrew language. It is indeed reported in P. *Megillah* IV, 75a, that the people speaking another language than Hebrew did not follow the rule prescribed in the Mishnah that seven people should read the section for the Sabbath, but that one person would read the entire section. והעליות לא נהגו כן אלא אחד קורא את כל הפרשה Evidently this was done for the simple reason that there were among them but few persons who could read Hebrew (comp. also Tosefta, *Megillah* IV, 13). But even in Palestine it must have happened in some very small communities that there was but one man in the congregation who could read and he had to read the entire section (comp. *Tosefta ibidem* IV, 12). It seems, however, that the people even in smaller communities and possibly even outside of Palestine, were anxious to retain the Mishnaic custom of seven people getting up to read from the Torah on a Saturday. And the only way this custom could be retained in those congregations in which there were not seven persons able to read, was to have the חזן or an expert reader assist those who were not expert in reading the portion assigned to them. Such a practice probably caused the talmudic discussion of the question whether two persons may read together from the Torah. One *Baraitha* quoted in B. *Megillah* 21b and P. *Megillah* IV, 1, 77d, declares it forbidden for two persons to read together, and the reason is given in the Jerushalmi (1. c.) because two voices together cannot be distinctly heard מפני שאין שני קולות נכנסין באוזן אחת But another Baraitha quoted in Jerushalmi, 1. c., makes a distinction between the reading from the Torah and the reading from the prophets, declaring that from the latter, two may not read together, but from the former it is permissible for two

to read together. תני שנים קורין בתורה ואין שנים קורין בנביא Evidently the reason for this distinction was because the section from the prophet was assigned to one person only and they would rather call up one who is an expert in reading to read the same. But in the case of the Torah the section from which was divided among seven persons, they had to permit two reading together, that is, in case one or more of the seven persons could not read well, that an expert should assist him in reading. They must have met the objection on the ground that two voices cannot well be heard together by the arrangement that the Ḥazan or the expert who assisted in the reading would lower his voice while the person who was honored to be called up to read would raise his voice so that he could well be heard distinctly.

According to Rashi (B. *Sabbath* 12b s. v. ראשי פרשיות), the custom of the Ḥazan assisting the reader was prevalent in Babylon at least already in talmudic times. Possibly this was one of the differences between the Babylonians and Palestinians, see *Ḥiluf Minhagim,* No. 47, and Müller's comments, though from the fact that the Jerushalmi quotes the Baraitha that two may read together and from Tractate *Soferim* XI, 4, it would seem that even in Palestine this custom was not unknown. But in Gaonic times this custom was already established in Babylon. Amram, p. 29a, expressly declares it permissible for the Ḥazan to assist the one who is to read a portion from the Torah. אבל החזן מותר לסייע את הקורא Likewise Hai Gaon in a responsum (collection *Shaare Teshubah* No. 59) permits the Ḥazan to render assistance to the one who is called up to read, but expressly forbids the practice of the Ḥazan reading for the one who is called up ומדברי רבוותא כולהו משמע דסבירא להו שלא יקרא החזן עבור הקורא From another Geonic responsum (Ginzberg, *Geonica* II, p. 102, lines 28-29) it is also evident that the practice of the Ḥazan reading for those who are called up to the Torah was not favored. But the very fact that Hai Gaon declares that the authorities forbid the Ḥazan to do the reading for those who are called up to read, one might conclude that some people in his time would occasionally follow the practice of letting the Ḥazan do the reading for the one who was called up if the latter was ignorant. In fact Tractate *Soferim* XI, 9, could be interpreted to allude to such a practice. At any rate one can easily see how out of the custom to let the Ḥazan assist the one who was to read developed the practice of letting the Ḥazan do the entire reading and have those who were called up merely recite the benedictions. For, assistance might be understood differently by different people. Some people, when asking another person to assist them in any work which they have to do really mean that the other person should do their work for them. After the custom was established of honoring people inexperienced in reading by calling them up to the Torah relying upon the Ḥazan to assist them in reading their portion, it became necessary to extend this honor also to those people whose inexperience in reading amounted to total ignorance, re-

lying upon the Ḥazan to do the reading for them. This custom is mentioned by R. Jacob Tam in Tossafot to B. B. 15a s. v. שמונה פסוקים and in Eshkol II, p. 67. The latter gives as a reason for the custom in order not to put to shame those who are unable to read. It should be added, though, that the custom was not universally accepted. In some countries the older practice continued that the persons called up to the Torah recite the benedictions and read the portion assigned to them. See *Or Zarua,* l. c. p. 20 and *Sh. Ar., Oraḥ Ḥayyim,* 139, 1.

II.

Question:

Ritual for Disposal of Damaged Sefer Torah.

I am very anxious to know the ritual in connection with the remains of a Sefer Torah which has been injured by fire. My impression is that they are to be buried but I do not know the form and since we have three such relics I am quite anxious to dispose of them in the proper manner. Will you kindly let me know both the form and the ritual which is customary.

Answer:

In regard to the mode of disposal of the burnt Sefer Torah fragments, tradition prescribes no set ritual. However, it offers us helpful guidance. The Talmud lays down the law that a worn out scroll may be placed in a jar and buried beside a scholar. This was to express the idea that the Sefer Torah, though torn, is still identified with the student: ספר תורה שבלה גונזין אותו אצל תלמיד חכם ובכלי חרס שנאמר ונתתם בכלי חרס למען יעמדו ימים רבים (*B. Megillah,* 26b). The *Shulchan Aruch* (*Yore Dea* 282, 10 *and Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 154.5) accepts this view (see also *Shaarei Teshubah,* to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* ad loc.). The reason for burying Scrolls is to avoid their further destruction by burning or otherwise being misused. Where there is fear that vandals may take them out of the graves and burn them, it is permitted to put them in earthen vessels and hide them in a secret place. (Responsa of R. Solomon b. Simon Duran (1400-1457) No. 62.)

The rule of burying old Scrolls which became spoiled or torn was in course of time extended to all Hebrew books which became torn or spoiled. This indirectly probably led to the well known practice of having special places called *GENIZAH* where such books were temporarily kept before burying. (See Eisenstein's *Ozar Dinim Uminhagim,* p. 77). In almost all old Jewish centres, there are *GENIZAS* in the synagogs, either under the *Bima, within the walls,* or *in the garrets.*

As the place grew overcrowded, the content was carried to the cemetery for burial. Among the Sephardim of Palestine it is customary to bury the accumulated *Genizas* with considerable ceremony. They use the occasion for prayers for relief from drought and other forms of distress. (See Luncz, *Jerusalem* I., Wien 1882, p. 15-16.) In Algiers, the burial of the Geniza usually takes place on Rosh Ḥodesh Iyyar (*Minhage Algier,* p. 132). In many Russian and Polish communities, too, torn Scrolls and worn out books are buried in the ground. A tent is then placed over the grave to show that it is a holy place. Of course, Psalms and prayers are recited at such occasions.

Guided by these practices we think in your case when the scrolls were injured at the occasion when the Temple burned down, it is fitting to place your burnt Sefer Torah in an earthen jar or a box, and to deposit it in the cornerstone of your new Temple. Psalm 74, referring to the burning of the sacred meeting places, will be fitting for the occasion; also selections from R. Meir of Rothenburg's dirge on the "Burning of the Law" may be recited. A translation of this dirge is found in Nina Davis' Songs of Exile, pp. 83-91. Your sermon might be built on the statement of R. Ḥanina b. Teradyon, one of the Ten Martyrs, who, when wrapped in a Sefer Torah and placed on the pyre, exclaimed: "Scrolls are burning, but the letters fly upward." גויליים נשרפים ואותיות פורחות (*B. Ab. Zar.* 18a). Should this ceremony be observed apart from that of laying the cornerstone, or at a special occasion at the cemetery, you might conclude it with reading of well known passages תנא רבי אליהו כל השונה הלכות בכל יום וכ' א"ר אלעזר אמר"ח תלמידי חכמים מרבים שלום וכו" (*Berakot* 64a) and the reciting of *Kaddish d'rabbanan.*

The other questions addressed to the Chairman and the members of the Committee were promptly answered. The committee, however, does not consider the answers to these questions of sufficient importance to be embodied in this report and printed in the yearbook.

JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, *Chairman,*
ISRAEL BETTAN,
SAMUEL S. COHON.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 29

Divine Services for the Sabbath were held in the Assembly Hall. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber. The Evening Service for the Sabbath from the Union

Prayerbook was read by Rabbi Morris Youngerman. The Conference lecture was delivered by Rabbi Joseph Rauch (Appendix B). The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Solomon Landman. The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Abram Simon.

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

The Conference assembled for divine services. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi William B. Schwartz. The Sabbath Morning Service from the Union Prayerbook, was read by Rabbi Louis Binstock. Rabbi Simon Cohen read the weekly portion from the Torah. The Conference sermon was delivered by Rabbi Samuel Koch (Appendix C). The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Samuel Markowitz. The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Louis Wolsey.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference assembled at 3:30 o'clock.

On account of the necessity of Rabbi Goldenson's return to his home the next day, his paper, Present Status and Future Outlook of Reform Judaism was read in place of the Shiur. (Appendix K).

A discussion followed, participated in by Rabbis Ettelson, A. H. Silver, Philipson and others.

An address was delivered by Mr. David A. Brown, urging closer co-operation between the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and asking the hearty support of the members in the endeavor to put the Union on a firm financial basis.

A resolution pledging co-operation was introduced and by unanimous consent was acted upon immediately and was carried.

RESOLUTION PLEDGING CO-OPERATION TO THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has labored long and earnestly in behalf of American Judaism. It has rendered fine service in the cause of Jewish education. It has sent out from the Hebrew

Union College a host of leaders and teachers in Israel. It has stretched out a strengthening hand to the wavering and is endeavoring to carry the light of instruction and moral guidance to the scattered remnants.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis puts itself on record as in hearty accord with the objects and endeavors of the Union and herewith pledges itself to the full extent of its power to stand back of the Union and to co-operate with it in every way possible, both in its present endeavor to raise adequate funds for its work and in its larger plans for the expansion of its activities and the widening of its influence for good in furthering the Jewish cause and in intensifying Jewish faith and life in America.

CHARLES S. LEVI,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG,
FELIX A. LEVY,
DAVID MARX,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
H. G. ENELOW.

The Conference then adjourned.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 29

The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock with the President, Rabbi Abram Simon, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Joseph Leiser.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

The report of the Committee on Publications was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Publications begs leave to report a year of activity in all departments. Every publication of the Conference had to be reprinted as all stock was exhausted. Volume I revised was reset by the Hebrew Press to match the type used in Volume II revised and an edition from the new plates has just appeared.

Volume II both revised and unrevised is ready for the holiday season and it is hoped that the sales will be larger than last year. Comparatively few congregations have introduced the revised Volume II and we urge the members of the Conference to adopt this book which has been received with favor wherever used.

UNION HAGGADAH

The new Haggadah has met with instant success and the whole edition of 4,500 copies was sold. Your Committee asks authority to reprint for the coming Passover.

HYMNAL REPRINTS

After the edition rested on our shelves for several years, the Committee put on a campaign to sell the rest of the stock of reprints of the Hymnal and can report complete success. The entire supply was sold and the book will not be reprinted.

BLESSING AND PRAISE

This volume, prepared at the request of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, is not being pushed by the members in the way its merits would justify. All who have examined the book are loud in its praise; those who have used the book in their religious schools are enthusiastic about its effect with the children, yet our members, though repeatedly urged, have failed to introduce the book among their members. May your Committee not again bring to your attention the fact that the members are missing a fine opportunity if they fail to push this book.

BUSINESS METHODS

After many years of selling the Conference publications through a sole agency, the Executive Board appointed a Sales Committee through whom the Conference publications are sold. The Executive Board felt that perhaps a healthy competition would aid the sale of our books and would result in more activity on the part of the agents. Your Chairman wishes to thank Rabbis Clifton H. Levy and Morris Newfield who with himself co-operated most heartily on the Sales Committee. Your Committee would again urge on the members the necessity of early orders. The Conference cannot afford to keep great sums tied up in large editions. If orders are received only a few days before books are needed, there is the risk of finding an edition exhausted. Your Committee endeavours to keep enough books on hand at all times but many large orders received just before a holy day when a special book is used sometimes makes it impossible to print an edition in time to fill the need. A little more consideration and co-operation on the part

of the members will help greatly in solving the difficulties which your Committee often faces.

Respectfully submitted,

I. E. MARCUSON, *Chairman,*
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Curators of Archives was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF CURATORS OF ARCHIVES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee begs leave to report that quite a number of copies of Year Books were sent upon instructions from the Secretary to individuals and institutions in this and in other lands.

Your Committee calls attention to the fact that the stock of Central Conference of American Rabbis publications has so increased in volume that almost all of the available space in the room of the college that had been set aside for the archives and stock of the Conference is taken up. The problem of taking care of the additional stock can be solved if the Conference will authorize the curators to have shelves built in a second room that is at the disposal of the Conference.

Your Committee recommends that such authorization be given.

Your Committee further recommends that for the archive proper a special closet with lock and key be built, the better to safeguard such material as cannot be duplicated.

Your Committee further recommends that the usual honorarium of $10.00 be given to Edward Glassbrenner, who takes charge of all the stock and of the packing and mailing of Conference publications when sent from the stock kept in the college building.

Your Committee further recommends that the sum of $15.00 be placed in charge of the secretary to the Registrar at the college, who addresses all the material that is mailed.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY ENGLANDER, *Chairman,*
JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

The report was received and all recommendations concurred in.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was read by Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: For the past twenty years, the Conference has been served by a Committee on Church and State whose duty it is to "report on encroachments upon the rights of conscience in our country" and to "collect literary material helpful toward the protection and preservation of those rights" (By-Laws, Vol. 18, page 22).

During this period, the committee published a pamphlet "Why the Bible Should Not Be Read in the Public Schools", distributed one large printing of it especially in those communities where legislation for compulsory Bible reading was contemplated, and revised and enlarged this pamphlet and is now continuing the distribution of it as needed.

Up to 1916 this Committee reflected the attitude of the Conference as being firmly set against any movement that endangered the American principle of the complete separation of Church and State. Non-sectarian public schools was the slogan. And nothing beyond this was said. In the meantime, it was noted that the voices demanding the introduction of Bible reading and some sort of religious or rather moral instruction in the public schools were becoming more numerous and insistent. The forces for sectarianizing our public schools were organizing each year more effectively. Instead of sporadic attempts at legislating compulsory Bible reading into the public schools as the beginnings of the 20th century witnessed, we saw nation-wide organizations with a far-reaching propaganda bent towards this sectarianization. Each year your Committee on Church and State reported an even greater number of these efforts. And last year was no exception. In Kentucky the Rash Bill favoring the reading of the Bible in the Public Schools was passed. In Maine a compulsory Bible reading bill was passed. In California the lower courts, that had ruled with those who contended that the Bible was a sectarian book and as such could not be purchased for the school libraries of the state with state funds, were reversed by the Supreme Court of that state which recently announced that in its opinion the King James version of the Bible was neither a sectarian nor denominational book. In Iowa, a compulsory Bible-reading bill was introduced in the State senate and through the efforts of Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer and others was defeated. The present law of the state has it that "the Bible shall not be excluded from any public school or institution of the state." In Virginia, a bill was introduced in the lower house of the legislature

of the state providing that every teacher in every public school of the state below collegiate grade was required to read five verses from the Bible at the opening of each class. Under the leadership of Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, the forces opposing the bill were able to bring about its defeat in the state senate. In West Virginia, two bills of similar import were introduced; the first, No. 176 died in committee, the second, No. 345 was also defeated after the opponents of the bill suggested that the Gary system of weekday religious instruction might be introduced, effecting all that was desired by the proponents of the bill without raising any of the objectionable features. In Oklahoma, the whole question is in the air, so in Texas; and it is not too much to say that practically every state that has no legislation for compulsory Bible reading in the schools is rife with agitation along these lines. The forces for sectarianization are indeed earnest; and will resort to all sorts of dialectics to prove that the union of church and state is not involved.

Above all, they find justification for their contention in the eyes of the majority, in the conditions of lax morals and waning religion that are easily to be seen on all sides.

This growing demand of no insignificant section of the American people for anything that will bring religion and morality and the knowledge of the Bible to the youthful American was already noted in 1916, when a special committee of this Conference presented its report on Religious and Ethical instruction and reviewed the English and the Continental systems as well as the Dakota, Colorado, Birmingham and Gary plans. It is well to recall that the Conference at Wildwood was asked by the Committee to endorse the Gary plan for weekday religious instruction and to appoint a commission to study the plan with a view of suggesting solutions as to certain practical difficulties, such as lay in schedules, curricula, teachers, school equipment and finances. If we study the exhaustive papers of that Committee on Religious and Ethical Instruction in Secular Schools and the discussion which they evoked, we note that there was keen dissatisfaction felt by the Conference with its negative position on this whole question. Not that the negative answer which it had made to all sectarian influences that sought to invade our schools, should be rendered affirmative; the Conference could not think for one moment of assisting in the ceremonial that is now quite popular of uniting church and state. But it was felt that it must add something to its No; or run the risk of seeing its unstatesmanlike attitude rebuked by a reversal of America's traditional policy of the separation of church and state.

Therefore your committee feels impelled to bring before the Conference again the matter of a statesmanlike policy that shall guide us not only in our protests against sectarianism but also in all positive efforts that we as religious leaders should be making along with those similarly minded of other faiths to meet the startling irreligion and immorality of the age. We have called out the views, as to the Conference policy on sectarianism,

not only of our committee members, but of all the past presidents of the Conference; and from the answers received we present this policy, which when adopted and as adopted shall not only be an assurance to all those who seek the re-moralization of this generation but shall also be an active guiding force for us.

1. The problem of irreligion and materialism concerns us deeply, and we cannot but agree that there is much evidence to support the contention made in many quarters that we are facing a moral breakdown in our generation. In addition to the temporary unravelling of the moral fibre as a result of the war, we believe that the main and fairly constant factors in this deterioration are irreligion and materialism.

2. It is an alarming condition with which we, in connection with all other teachers of religion, must do our utmost to cope. We must study the causes, the symptoms and never hesitate to apply the remedy. But that remedy must first be effectual and then it must be of such a nature as will not in curing one disease poison the whole system.

3. It is proposed by many earnest and sincere religionists to meet the problem of irreligion and the moral breakdown by introducing religious teaching, or, as a minimum, Bible reading without comment, into the exercises of our public schools. We cannot recognize this proposal either as an effective or a safe remedy. Mere Bible reading in the school room, without comment, is to our mind a futile thing; and may frequently be harmful. It leads to perfunctoriness and will be apt to bring the Bible into contempt rather than increase the respect for it. Unexplained, much of the Bible text, like any other literature with an unfamiliar background and a strange mode of expression and a gradually unfolding moral outlook, will be a stumbling block rather than a help. If the Bible be read by the teacher with comment, the door is open for sectarian teaching and possible propaganda; while we are at all times fearful that teachers untrained for this delicate task would do more harm than good. Uninterpreted, many parts of the Bible remain sealed; interpreted, these sections become necessarily sectarian.

4. With a great many of our fellow-citizens of all faiths we are convinced that this proposal of introducing Bible reading into our schools goes counter to the highly prized American tradition of the separation of church and state. This is a principle that seemed so important to the wise elder statesmen of the Constitutional period that they embodied it into the first amendment to the great document that came from their hand. We are convinced that Bible reading in the schools leads to sectarianism, will bring the contentions and divisions of the churches into the schools and will be the first step towards the union of church and state.

5. We believe that there is an urgent need of more religious instruction than that which is generally given at present. With the great majority of the American people the churches and synagogs provide at present even under favorable conditions only forty hours actual teaching time a year, perhaps in reality only thirty-five. This limited period does not afford suffi-

cient opportunity to inculcate into the children of the Sunday School population those teachings necessary for the spiritual life. The inadequacy of present day religious instruction is largely due to the scantiness of time allotted to the religious school to do this work. We believe that the remedy of the present situation must come from and through the institutions of religion. Not only is religious instruction their chief concern, but by the very nature of the case they alone are prepared to give it. These institutions of religion must be given more time to carry through their program of religious teaching, and that program must be given an added dignity by the recognition of its worth and value through some definite surrender of time for it by that institution which has caught the imagination and respect of our youth, the public schools.

6. A number of plans have been put into operation seeking to put more time at the disposal of church schools of religion and giving these church schools some kind of scholastic recognition. The Colorado and Dakota plans hardly fit in with the general grade school child, but are eminently adapted for the high school pupil. The Gary plan, allowing extra studies along cultural lines upon school time and for school credits, would certainly allow additional time for the religious schools. Certain difficulties and limitations that are complained of in Gary, such as the extension of the school week to Saturday, complicating the situation for the Jewish child, can we believe be removed by sympathetic attention to some details of the plan. The Gary system, as has been said, "would make religious instruction an integral part of the education of the child, would give it dignity, because of its connection with the educational scheme, which it now lacks, would co-ordinate it more with the national life, and at the same time would bring no pressure to bear upon any child in the direction of sectarian instruction." We believe that the Gary plan can be best adapted for a useful and practical and not exorbitantly expensive week-day religious school program by allowing one afternoon a week or one hour each on two afternoons for religious instruction in the church schools. We believe the Gary plan and the Colorado and Dakota plans complement each other; we believe that each individual community can accommodate itself better to one or the other of the plans; and the choice should rest with the judgment of the particular community as to the feasibility, etc.

7. We are interested in the religious life of the American people and devoted to its continuous and increasing power and effectiveness. We are aware that this religious life is broken up in the form of various sects and denominations. We will unremittingly guard the rights of religious minorities and will never fail to raise our voice against the encroachment of sectarianism in our government or upon our schools. We believe that to be the duty of every good American and every good man. At the same time we feel that we must do more than protest. We are a part of the American nation, which has great ethical and spiritual traditions; and we must do our part to encourage the moral and spiritual education of American children. To this high program we solemnly pledge our best efforts.

Your Committee on Church and State recommends (1) that this policy of the Conference as to Ethical and Religious Instruction and its relation to our public school system be endorsed at this convention of the Conference and that as amended and endorsed, it be speedily thereafter given large and effective publicity.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman,*
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
DAVID PHILIPSON.

Rabbi Max Heller: There are several statements in this recommendation which I could not endorse. To say that, uninterpreted, the reading of the Bible is futile is too sweeping a statement, it seems to me. One might read the First Psalm or the Eighth Psalm or any number of parts from the Bible which are universal religion, perfectly clear and simple. To pass undeserved condemnation on the whole Bible as a sealed book is an unjust indictment.

But when we say that there are parts of the Bible—plenty of them, in which the Authorized Version and the Publication Society translation do not differ materially, then we leave a door open for conference and for possible union. This report is largely motivated by defeats to which we have subjected ourselves; nay, which we have invited by the negative character of our attitude. Let us not remain committed to a position of perpetual negativity and antagonism. Let us prove to the world that we are ready to go half way to meet it out of our interest in religious instruction and for the cause of religion in general. I think that we should at least seek conferences as to practical plans for introducing fit parts of the Bible to be read in the public schools without comment.

I agree that comment is dangerous because the teacher is in most cases incompetent and probably partisan. But when it comes to reading certain parts of the Bible without comment, and if we have a voice in the selection of such passages, I think it will be a much better policy to say that we are ready to confer with a view to constructive Bible reading, even from the Authorized

Version, so long as such parts of the Bible are read which do not run any danger of sectarian division and teaching. It is my feeling that the time has come for us to take such a step to meet the situation, out of our love for the Bible and out of a sense of what good the Bible can do in the public schools.

Rabbi Ephraim Frisch: I had to grapple with this problem in San Antonio a short time ago. The Board of Education put the Bible in the Authorized Version into the schools. I handled it not as a religious controversy but as a matter of education and a matter of justice. A few years ago I felt as Rabbi Heller does, that we ought to co-operate with other denominations, but I have gone back to the historic position of the Conference—that Church and State ought to be absolutely separated and that the introduction of the Bible in the public schools in any form is an invasion of that principle promulgated by Jefferson. I wrote a whole page article on the subject and I have studied the law, and to me it seems that the one weakness and defect of the fine work of the Chairman of our Committee has been that he does not give us the sources. He gives fine preachments but he does not give the legal sources. There are three great decisions of the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of Wisconsin decision of 1890, which is a withering and crucial decision on the subject of the Bible in the public schools. It is a clarion call to religious equality and freedom, and after you read it you will never entertain any other opinion. Rabbi Heller can take an easy view as he has no question. He is protected in Louisiana on the subject of equality between the denominations.

What is the motive for the reading of the Bible in the public schools? It is not the fine motive of bringing spiritual influences to bear on our children. It is almost invariably a religious and sectarian motive. The purpose is to bring denominational influence to bear on the children. They want the Protestant religion introduced and no other. They insisted in my city on the introduction of the King James version although 99% of the children were Mexican and Catholic, violating all the rights of these people. It is futile and bad pedagogy. The remedy of

saving our civilization and morals by reading two or three verses a day from the Bible is stupid and useless. It brings us nowhere.

If you want to put in a volume of select Bible passages for the purpose of spiritual influence that they may convey in the same sense that we would put in a volume of selections from Plato, very well; but we must not put the Bible itself into the public schools. Religion should remain a matter for the home.

Our superintendent chose the passages to be read. He had a passage from Genesis about the curse of labor. I told him that he was teaching the children bad economics. He agreed with me. Then he had the passage about Joshua making the sun stand still. We know that such a passage cannot be taught to children today without an explanation. I told him I would rather have my child taught some of the great passages of Isaiah, and I felt that I had a right to decide what religion my child should, as well as should not, be taught, and where it should be taught.

I feel that we have been on the right ground all the time; and as late as 1910 and 1915, in spite of all the religious misunderstanding and prejudice, there comes from a Supreme Court, an enlightened Christian body, a decision, upholding our position and appreciating the historic action of America in separating the Church and State.

Rabbi David Philipson: I am rising as a member of the Committee. We all felt that we have been in an attitude of protest too long, that we have had a purely negative attitude, and that we must take a positive stand. I am not going to argue the question that Rabbi Heller and Rabbi Frisch argued because to my mind the standpoint of the American doctrine of Church and State needs no argument at all. I believe that our historic position is absolutely correct, and as Charles Sumner said when someone asked him, when he was arguing against Slavery, "Have you heard the other side?", he replied, "There is no other side." That is the way I feel in this matter, so I believe we can go on to the other matter.

The Committee, feeling that our attitude of protest has not brought any constructive ideas at all, felt that while maintaining

our position regarding the reading of the Bible in the public schools, (we all know the arguments for and against it), we should do something that shall show that we appreciate the great need of the time; the need of America for more religious instruction and for a more spiritual vision on the part of our children. For that reason we made the suggestion in the last part, that we shall make an active effort towards securing time for more religious instruction by this method of getting an afternoon a week from the public schools, and our synagogs and the churches and the cathedrals shall take advantage of that afternoon. That, I think, is all that can be done. It is in line with what our Commission on Jewish Education has been suggesting—that we have not enough time on Sunday morning for religious instruction and ought to get a week day.

Now if these two committees can work together along this line, I think it would help a good deal. I do not believe we can solve the matter by bringing it into the public school. I believe it is only a large movement to Protestantize the United States.

Rabbi Barnet R. Brickner: In Canada the situation is quite different from what it is in the United States. In the province of Ontario, for instance, we have a law on the statute books which makes the reading of the Bible compulsory in the public schools—the mere reading. The Protestant denominations of Ontario have been dissatisfied with that injunction and they are appealing constantly to the Ontario Parliament for the introduction of more religious instruction in the public schools.

Of course all religious instruction in the public schools is sectarian instruction, no matter how broadly you endeavor to define the question of religious instruction. The interpreter who has been trained to interpret the Bible in any form interprets it in that form in the public schools.

You cannot, unless you train teachers in the teaching of the Bible, get a neutral interpretation of the Bible.

It is not the neutral interpretation that they want and they are frank in confessing exactly what Dr. Philipson expressed, which I think is a Christian argument, namely, that our Sunday

Schools are inadequate in teaching our religion, therefore we should support teaching it in the public schools.

The point I want to make is this: If your motive in teaching religion and the Bible in the public schools is a high-minded purpose, what you are interested in is really the development of character, it isn't the teaching of sectarianism to the children. There is a very clear line of distinction between ethical and religious instruction. Old pedagogs draw that distinction.

Now, as Jews, and as members of the whole community we are interested in ethical instruction. But there is a difference of opinion between pedagogs as between direct and indirect moral instruction.

I was willing to go as far as considering the necessity of ethical instruction in the public schools, and I said, "We must be opposed to religious instruction because that means Protestantizing the public schools. You object to Catholics separating themselves from our schools and it means ultimately forcing the Jews of Ontario to develop parochial schools. Because when the children of immigrants come home with sectarian instruction on the Bible it leads the parents to feel the necessity of having parochial school. You are opposed to it. We are too, because it indoctrinates children. Therefore I would suggest instead of our urging religious instruction in the public schools, that we urge ethical instruction in the schools and that we go further and say that we will assist in compiling an ethical textbook made up of excerpts from the Old as well as the New Testament and such other ethical literature as exists, with a view of teaching ethics and not religion, and leaving religion or sectarian instruction to the religious schools of each particular denomination.

It seems to me that in pleading that, we are pleading the cause which is high-minded; namely, character building through direct ethical instruction, and avoiding entering into a controversy, through which, by virtue of the fact that we are in the minority, once we concede the necessity of religious instruction in the public schools, we will be completely lost.

Rabbi Lefkowitz: The principle that was set down by the Committee for its own guidance was that there must be a recog-

nition of the complete separation of Church and State, and they therefore set their faces against anything that meant the introduction of Bible reading in public schools with or without comment; the reading of even those sections (and I agree with Dr. Heller when he says there are a great many sections in the Bible, Old and New Testament) that need not be commented upon and explained in order to be understood. But we felt that anything that means bringing the Bible into the public schools, especially bringing it in without comment, is something that smacks of a ceremonial of the church—the introduction, therefore, of church discipline into the schools—the union of Church and State. It is a bit of worship, of prayerful worship, and therefore the entire matter of reading the Bible in the public schools, or the reading of verses, was eliminated from our report on policy.

We also felt, and I now proceed, if you will allow me, to the statement of Rabbi Brickner, that although there was a section in this policy on ethical instruction the Committee was unanimous, after very serious discussion, on this point: that it is an extremely dangerous thing for us to speak of ethics. Not only dangerous but wrong as a matter of principle, to speak of ethics or to present ethics without a background, divorced from religion, and therefore we could not include that section.

Let the statesmanship not be a statesmanship of today meeting a very serious drive toward sectarianism, but let it be a statesmanship that looks toward the continued emphasis of a principle.

Rabbi S. S. Kaplan: The question of taking an hour from the public school curriculum for the purpose of taking the children from the public schools to the churches in order to instruct them in their own religion is a paramount question in our country today. When that is accomplished, you are taking through your religious agency an hour away from the public school educational system. In doing that the Church is forcing the State to compromise with it and as a matter of principle, I for one, cannot allow any ministerial alliance, or group of people, to say that it is fitting and proper for the Church to infringe upon the rights and responsibilities of the State in any educational matter.

The matter came up in the City of Tulsa. We had a min-

isterial alliance meeting there. We formed a council of religious education, and this is what happened:

The group of people assembled was composed principally of Protestant preachers. I was the only Jew present. At this meeting it was suggested that we go to the Board of Education and demand from them one hour to be taken out of the public school curriculum so that the children could go to the various churches. That policy was carried into effect, but the Superintendent of Education, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, told them that he would not allow them one hour but would give them twenty-five minutes, the last study period of school. That would allow fifteen minutes for instruction. Those preachers said, "Let us take the twenty-five minutes, and let the children spend ten minutes in getting to the churches. Let us get the children interested in coming for those fifteen minutes, even though we do not instruct those children very much in our religion, and then next year let us say, "Here are a thousand or two thousand children that are interested in religious education and want to come to study. Let us take those one thousand children and say to them, "You must come from three to four instead of from three to three-thirty." We will decimate the classes in the public school system and force the Board of Education to submit to our demand." If that is not forcing religious education on to the State education, on the part of the Church, then I do not know what is and that is what you are doing here. You are agreeing to that when you admit that one hour should be taken out of the public school system.

Upon motion, the report was adopted as amended. Rabbi S. S. Kaplan requested that his vote be recorded in the negative in respect to recommendation VII.

The Special Committee to which had been referred the resolution respecting the attitude of the Conference on War and Peace reported through Rabbi James G. Heller.

RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONFERENCE ON WAR AND PEACE

The Central Conference of American Rabbis in convention assembled, holds the conviction that the issues of war and peace press for solution upon mankind in general and upon our country in particular as perhaps never before in the upward struggle of humanity. Together with our brothers of other creeds we are eager to give whatever we can of our strength and devotion, in order that the curse of war shall be lifted from the world. Throughout the centuries of the past Jews have given gladly and unstintingly of their blood and means, whenever their country has called upon them. Because we love America, because we have always joined to the ties of birth and adoption the proud consciousness that it has been actuated by the prophetic ideals of justice, righteousness, mercy and peace, we want it to be more than a powerful nation—we desire America to maintain its position as a moral leader and pioneer breaking the way toward the New Freedom!

For this reason we urge upon our fellow-citizens and upon those who guide the destinies of our land that, being true to themselves, they adopt an uncompromising opposition to war. We believe that war is morally indefensible. War that crushes the young, that brutalizes and degrades, that destroys all that is most precious, must not be honored and glorified. It must be recognized for what it is and this must be taught to our children. Therefore we warmly recommend the espousal of the Levinson-Borah plan for the outlawry of war.

We do not champion extreme attitudes. We do not adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance. We believe that there have been righteous wars. Freedom and justice are worth more than life. A nation must defend its moral integrity, its existence. But today the means of public information are mobilized so elaborately that frequently even the highly educated citizen finds it impossible to judge for himself. Under these conditions, how is the righteousness of a war to be determined? The justness of a cause becomes the matter of propaganda, the manipulation of men's loyalties and their lives. We favor the creation by the public of agencies of information free from bureaucratic control, that shall strive to obtain and to spread uncolored information on international relations, especially in time of crisis. There is no more crucial question in our political life, or in the moral status of our nationhood. Democracy without the control of a genuine public opinion becomes mere bureaucracy, the tool of territorial and economic imperalisms. And without this control the mad ebullition of war enthusiasm is speedily followed by the slough of disillusion.

It is not enough to inquire: Who put the match to the powder-barrel? We must labor to understand and to destroy the grave evils of the economic and diplomatic system which breed wars. Economic imperalisms and rivalries, the exploitation of weaker by stronger nations, the Machiavellian

traditions of old-world diplomacy, the manner in which national ethics lags behind individual ethics, the constant whipping up of hatreds and prejudices, the sinister secrecy that juggles with the destinies of whole peoples,—these and many other evils must be stamped out, as small flames that make the great prairie fire. We take our stand with all the generations of our forefathers upon the principle, "the work of righteousness shall be peace." The consummation of peace can be attained only when justice and righteousness prevail. Righteousness, not war, exalteth a nation. In quietness and confidence is to be found its strength, when its trust is truly in God.

But peace cannot be attained merely by blasting away the obstacles that impede the free flow of the sentiment of brotherhood. Peace is not a negative but a positive condition. It implies not the mere elimination of friction, nor a slowing down of the pace, it must lead to a dynamic harmony turning conflicting into co-operating forces. We appeal to the entire human family to substitute love for hatred, unity for strife, brotherhood for discord, the boons of peace for the spoils of war. We call upon all to assemble under the aegis of peace for the alleviation of human suffering, for the binding up of the wounds of mankind, for progress along the highway of man's destiny.

We recognize that no practical measures can guarantee the realization of the ideal here set forth, that it can be actualized only by an intrinsic moral advance among peoples as well as governments. But we do believe that much can be done to enlighten our fellowmen about the nature and causes of war and perhaps thereby to prevent it. We heartily favor the institution of a popular referendum as an indispensible preliminary to any declaration of war by Congress. During this referendum there should be no extraordinary restriction upon freedom of assembly, speech and press. Express dissent from the course of action demanded by the authorities should not be construed as disloyalty.

We urge the speedy adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, known as the World Court. Forty-eight nations have already subscribed to it. Without any sacrifice of sovereignty, independent action or honor, we can well take part officially, as we have already unofficially, in this laudable attempt to substitute adjudication for the resort to arms.

We urge that our government do all within its power to convene an International Conference for the purpose of preventing the manufacture of arms by private citizens, and of poison gas for use in warfare—by either public or private agencies.

We commend those organizations striving to spread information and enlightenment in regard to the issues of war and peace. We are convinced that without persistent education of the Will to Peace there is little hope for the disappearance of the Will to War. We shall heartily co-operate with all agencies that seek this goal.

In agreement with the recommendation of the President of this Con-

ference we suggest the adoption of an amendment to our Constitution that shall create a Standing Committee on Peace, with the ultimate object of bringing into being a Jewish National Commission on Peace and Good Will. This would enable us to co-operate more readily and more effectively with other religious agencies animated by the same prophetic ideal of peace and justice, and desirous of working for it unitedly.

In conclusion, we would repeat the words of our prayer-book: "Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou Eternal Source of Peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace and its advocate in the council of nations."

James G. Heller, *Chairman,*
Rudolph I. Coffee,
Morris S. Lazaron,
Gerson B. Levi,
George Solomon.

Rabbi James G. Heller: On behalf of the Special Committee I should like to state that we realized that the task assigned to this Committee was no easy one. The intention, as we understood it, was to draw up a pronouncement of this Conference on the question of war and peace, which is to be used to proclaim to the public our attitude. The Committee has approached the question with its seriousness in mind. We regret very much, however, that it was impossible, due to the conditions at this resort, to have the report that was drawn up, multigraphed or printed so that it could be submitted in writing to every member of the Conference for his annotations or corrections.

The standpoint that is represented in these resolutions is the unanimous judgment of the Committee that was appointed. The attempt has been made to draw up resolutions which shall not misrepresent the attitude of the Jew, and shall be what we feel to be the attitude of the Conference, which should not put us in the position of being extremists in any shape or form, but which shall at the same time be positive, and which shall proclaim as strongly as within our power, our desire to labor for peace and to see that the system that makes for war is destroyed.

I should like to say that we took into consideration in connection with these resolutions, the programs of other religious bodies, the resolutions that were submitted to this Convention, and

also very respectfully, the passage of the President's message, which treats of the subject, and which I think you will all see is included in the document.

Rabbi Witt: I understood when this Special Committee was appointed, and I was one of the men that urged its appointment, that this presentment to be made by the Committee, be as a resolution. We want something that will be definite, concrete, and brief, that can go before the world as a statement of the Conference. This is not a resolution. This is very beautiful. We all agree with its sentiments, but it is not what the Conference wants. Every big denomination has come out with a statement that can be put in the form of a paragraph or two.

We want a statement that is in the nature of a resolution, that is, a digest, a concentration of the attitude of the Conference on this great question of peace and war; therefore I feel that this presentment, made by the Committee should be recommitted so that the Conference may get what it wants—a resolution that is not too brief and yet brief enough so that it can say everything that it wants to say without at the same time giving us an essay.

Secondly, I wish to say that a very important omission was made; to my mind, one of the very most important things. Not a word has been said about the League of Nations. There is a statement made about a World Court for international justice, but not a word about the existing League. Not even a word encouraging our administration to join some kind of association. There is a reference to calling of a convention for the limitation of armament, which is a very fine thing, but I think we might go as far at least as the Episcopalian Church's statement, for example, that in the event and in the hope that our Government may find a way to co-operate with an association for international peace, the Episcopalian Church will be very glad to participate.

There may be some differences of opinion on the League, there is no difference of opinion on an association of nations for peace, and when a report of this character, committing the Conference, has not a word to say on this very, very big thing with-

out which peace can never come, I say that the report and the resolution are quite inadequate.

For this reason I think this resolution and report should be recommitted for restatement to the Conference.

A motion to recommit the report to the Committee was lost—ayes, 29; nays, 40.

Rabbi James G. Heller: I think Rabbi Witt is mistaken when he says that the other denominations have issued very brief resolutions in regard to the questions involved.

A policy endorsed by one of the Christian denominations which we had before us, is practically identical in length and covered somewhat the same ground, although it differed considerably in the viewpoint presented.

The Committee read over this resolution four or five times and has gone over every word to prune it down. This is not intended to be an essay. It is the tendency of the Conference to call everything beyond a certain length, an "essay." I don't feel that the criticism is justified. If you will read it you will see that every individual paragraph is a pronouncement, not a discussion, upon a specific question involved in the issues of war and peace, and I defy anyone to read it over, not just to listen to it but to read it carefully, and to still make the assertion that it is an essay rather than a pronouncement.

I do not believe it is possible to frame a resolution which shall be within a very narrow compass and which shall do more than say we are opposed to war and I believe it will be totally ineffectual in its effect as an expression of this Conference, or in the influence it may have upon our people. We must define, as well as express our attitude, and the attempt of this resolution is to define. We tried to define by putting ourselves between the two extremes, between the extreme of non-resistance on the one hand, and the extreme of complete militarism upon the other. We do this by taking two steps, (and I believe that these are involved in any resolution, no matter how brief) in the first place, by stating our position upon the theoretical issues of war,—our moral and emotional reactions thereto, and in the second place, stating as

completely and as briefly as possible those specific plans that have been proposed, and that meet with our endorsement. We believe that those two are essential to such a pronouncement. I do not believe that you can divorce the one from the other, therefore, I would very much like to see this put before the members of the Conference, not before the Committee alone, in some form so that it could be criticized. I think it is too important a matter to be disposed of by discussing it on the floor.

In regard to the League of Nations, the reason it was not incorporated was because it was the opinion of some members of the Committee that it would weaken the force of the resolution. I, personally, favor the League of Nations. I realize its drawbacks. One member felt that the League is irrevocably tied up with the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles, and therefore we did not want to propound in favor of this specific league. The other denominations have sidestepped it. The Methodists said, "We are in favor of *a* league of nations," not "*the* League of Nations."

I feel confident that if we had introduced as a section of this resolution, a strong endorsement of the League of Nations, it would have been the one moot point on the floor of the Conference, and would have vitiated the other things upon which we can unite, and it was for this reason, after coming to a realization of the ineradicable differences of opinion, that we decided to omit this section.

Upon motion, the report was adopted.

It was moved that a Committee of the Conference be appointed to co-operate with the Jewish Publication Society in working out plans for placing the English translation of the Bible in every Jewish home and in the pews of the synagogs; and that the Secretary of the Conference circularize the members and urge that a sermon during the coming holy days be devoted to the subject of the place of the Bible in the Jewish Home and Jewish Life.

It was moved and adopted that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Rabbi Ephraim Frisch read an Introduction to the Symposium, A Revaluation of Reform Judaism, prepared by Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler. (Appendix H).

Upon motion, the reading the paper by Rabbi H. G. Enelow was postponed until afternoon.

Rabbi Jacob Singer reported for the Committee on Synagog Music.

Rabbi Jacob Singer: In lieu of a report I am bringing an explanation—not an apology.

Your Committee has been grappling with the problem of revising the Hymnal and the fact that we have no report at this time is not an admission of remissness. After a careful study of the problem, we decided to employ a competent musician to do the editorial work under the direction of the Committee and with this purpose in mind we got into communication with Rev. Max Grauman, of New York, who promised to prepare a revised manuscript which was to be ready for presentation at this time.

Unfortunately Mr. Grauman was ill the greater part of the winter with the result that the work has not made the progress we had hoped for.

Our recommendation is, therefore, that the incoming Committee be instructed to proceed along those lines, and if necessary, get in touch with other men, provided Mr. Grauman cannot, after his illness, prepare the manuscript he promised.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Relief Fund and Commission on Synagog Pension Fund was read by Rabbi Newfield.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIEF FUND AND COMMISSION ON SYNAGOG PENSION FUND

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Relief Fund and your Commission on Synagog Pension Fund beg leave to report as follows for the

period of twelve months, from June 1, 1923, to June 1, 1924:

Nine pensions were paid this year, viz.; three to incapacitated members and six to the widows of members.

One widow was added to the pension list during the year and one relinquished her claim. One more superannuated rabbi was granted a pension.

The total amount expended for these nine pensions was $3480, exceeding the amount paid last year by $565.

By resolution of the Executive Board $1000 was appropriated from this fund for the immediate relief of unfortunate colleagues in European congregations and seminaries. The money was taken abroad by Rabbi H. G. Enelow and was wisely expended under his advice.

The total expenditure for this fiscal year was, therefore, $4480.

The receipts of the Relief Fund during the same period were $4281.98,

One-half dues	$ 627.50
Interest	3,394.80
Donations	260.00

To this amount should be added the sum of $7434.15 turned over to the Treasurer, after the closing of his books, by the Committee on Solicitation. After paying the clerical expenses of the Committee, we shall be enabled this year to credit an additional sum of approximately $7000 to the Relief fund, which will then amount to approximately $46,000 invested in Liberty Bonds and other safe securities, in the keeping of the Treasurer.

Our expenditures for relief exceeded the amount received from dues and interest, which, according to the requirements of the Constitution, is credited to this fund. It is consequently all the more gratifying that, through the zealous and capable efforts of the Committee on Solicitation, the additional sum of $7,434.15 was secured, exceeding the contribution of the preceding banner year by $3,500.

The Synagog Pension Fund, founded by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff on the occasion of his seventieth birthday and supplemented by others, now amounts to $137,815.57, which is in the keeping of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and is invested in Liberty Bonds.

We concur in the recommendation made by the President in his Message approving in principle of Plan III submitted by Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein, Chairman of the Joint Commission on Synagog Pension Fund to the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and we urge that the plan be elaborated by experts and presented to the next council for earnest consideration.

We also join the President in expressing appreciation to Mr. Isidor Silverman, of Toledo, for making the Pension Fund the beneficiary of

an insurance policy, and we heartily commend his praiseworthy example for emulation.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman,*
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON,
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG,
ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
TOBIAS SCHANFARBER.

The report was received and upon motion, action on the report was postponed until later in the session. (See p. 110).

The Conference then adjourned.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference reconvened at 2:15 P. M.

It was moved and adopted that the greetings of the Conference be sent to Rabbi Sale on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

A paper on The Theoretical Foundations of Reform Judaism was read by Rabbi H. G. Enelow. (Appendix I).

A paper entitled, A Survey of the Achievements of Reform Judaism, was read by Rabbi Julian Morgenstern. (Appendix J.)

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Brickner, Witt, Kaufman, Levinger, Mayerberg, Buttenwieser, Neumark, Schwartz, Philipson, Thurman, Levy, (C. H.), Kaplan, (S. S.), Enelow and Morgenstern. For discussion, see page 299.

The following resolution was presented and unanimously adopted:

A survey of the history of Reform Judaism demonstrates conclusively that its progress can be best furthered and permanent constructive results achieved by the helpful co-operation in mutual faith and good will of rabbis and laity. Many problems confront it of character so large and aspect so broad that their effective solution demands that they be dealt with from both a rabbinical and a lay point of view. Often in the past Reform Judaism has suffered, and at times has failed to achieve, because this co-operation was lacking.

In Reform Judaism in America, two organizations represent these two streams of thought and action, the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Both were called into being by Isaac M. Wise because he foresaw clearly the need of them. Surely he contemplated their close and effective co-operation.

Regrettably, therefore, it must be admitted, that their co-operation has been little more than formal and nominal. Far more might have been accomplished and crying problems might have come nearer to solution, had the co-operation between them been closer and warmer.

In view of the symposium on the Revaluation of Reform Judaism, conducted at this convention, and the significant facts which it has established; in view, likewise of the proposed thorough reorganization of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of which official information has been brought to this convention, it is the sense of this Conference that a systematic effort now be made to establish such relations of friendship, faith and co-operation between the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and that for this purpose a committee of seven members of this Conference be appointed to confer with representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to the end that such relations may be speedily and satisfactorily established.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
HENRY COHEN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
LOUIS L. MANN,
GERSON B. LEVI.

The Conference then adjourned.

SUNDAY EVENING

A Talmudic discussion (*Shiur*) was led by Rabbi Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Resolutions begs to make the following recommendations on the resolutions introduced at the Conference, and asks their adoption:

I.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Conference that its members refer all candidates who apply to them for ordination, to an accredited institution for the training of Rabbis.

And be it further *Resolved,* That such institutions be apprised of the action of this Conference, and be requested to make provision for the ordination of such men, if and when found worthy.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Board appoint a committee to study and report on the subject of the ordination of men not graduates of rabbinical seminaries who are seeking ordination from members of the Conference.

The recommendation was adopted.

II.

WHEREAS, the Kaddish Prayer as embodied in the Union Prayer Book is for use by the individual in commemorating his dead; and

WHEREAS, the individual, not infrequently, is deprived of considerable satisfaction and comfort because of his inability to read the prayer; and

WHEREAS, the Central Conference of American Rabbis is endeavoring to encourage participation in the service by the congregants as evidenced by the prayers to be read in unison and by the responsive readings; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Board be directed to provide a transliteration of the Kaddish Prayer in all subsequent issues of the Prayer Book—Volume I. at least—and that if found advisable a page with the transliteration, gummed on one edge, be provided for use in prayer books already in use.

SAMUEL KOCH,
SIMON R. COHEN,
MARTIN ZIELONKA,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
JACOB H. KAPLAN.

Your Committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Committee on Publications.

The recommendation was adopted.

III.

WHEREAS, it is our belief that the various reports of the Committee on Responsa represents the authoritative position of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and therefore of American Reform Judaism, on questions of Jewish life and conduct; and

WHEREAS, it is our belief that their reports may be made to serve in a most practical manner to the members of the Conference; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis instruct the Committee on Responsa, to edit with the view of printing in a special pamphlet, the reports of this Committee to date.

And be it further *Resolved,* That it is the sense of this Conference that a supplement, properly indexed in accordance with subject matter be issued by the Conference, once every ten years.

ABRAHAM HOLTZBERG,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
MORRIS NEWFIELD.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board for favorable action if feasible.

The recommendation was adopted.

IV.

WHEREAS, there is a crying need for bringing close to Jewish university students the practical and pertinent application of Judaism to world problems; and

WHEREAS, it is of greatest importance to secure expression of university students on Jewish problems; and

WHEREAS, it is most important to develop among Jewish university students a Jewish consciousness; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis recommend to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations the consideration of the practicability and feasibility of calling a national conference of University students for the aforesaid purposes.

FELIX A. LEVY,
BENJ. M. FRANKEL,

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board for favorable action.

The recommendation was adopted.

V.

Resolved, That in consideration of its great value for the promotion of Jewish knowledge this Conference make a subvention of $100.00 for the year 1924-1925 to H. Kasowsky's *Concordance of the Mishna.*

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
HENRY COHEN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
H. G. ENELOW,
LOUIS L. MANN,
GERSON B. LEVI,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
ALBERT G. MINDA.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board for favorable action.

The recommendation was adopted.

VI.

Resolved, That in consideration of its great value for the promotion of Jewish knowledge this Conference renew for the year 1924-25 its subvention of $100.00 to M. Guttmann's *Mafteach Ha-talmud.*

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
HENRY COHEN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
H. G. ENELOW,
LOUIS L. MANN,
GERSON B. LEVI,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
ALBERT G. MINDA.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board for favorable action.

The recommendation was adopted.

We recommend that the suggestions contained in the Report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History, which were referred to this Committee, be referred to the Executive Board for further study and action.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID MARX, *Chairman,*
SIMON R. COHEN,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
BENJAMIN FRANKEL,
DAVID GOLDBERG,
JAMES G. HELLER,
SAMUEL KOCH,
GERSON B. LEVI,
FELIX A. LEVY,
ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
SAMUEL S. MAYERBERG,
LOUIS I. NEWMAN,
LOUIS WITT,
GEORGE ZEPIN.

The report was adopted as a whole.

The Vice-President, Rabbi Wolsey, takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on President's Message takes the keenest pleasure in commending the fine service of the President during his incumbancy of the high office which he holds and adorns. He has represented the Conference with dignity and ability on the occasions when he was called to confer with officials of other organizations of national scope on questions of high and serious import. His station in the capital city of the nation has given him for years the opportunity to observe and study the living issues of the time and he has brought, during the past year the knowledge thus gained to the envisaging of the problems that required his consideration. The message reflects this breadth of view and largeness of vision. In his definition of the spirit and aims of the Conference during the past thirty-five years of its existence, he has, in clear thought and striking phrase, set forth the viewpoints and outlook of that interpretation of Judaism for which the Conference stands. As he says, finely, "Liberal Judaism is a fairly definite formulation of Jewish doctrine and practice in consonance with the spirit of our age

and country, yet holding within its heart the possibilities of progressive expansion." And again, "We need to reassure ourselves so that holding firmly the ground we have already won, we move forward courageously and Jewishly into the probable spiritual environment in which we may find ourselves." The past is secure. The future beckons us on and we have no doubt and no fear that during the coming year as in the twelvemonth that lies behind us, the Conference under his splendid leadership will continue worthy of the finest traditions of the past and prove equal to whatever new tasks may arise. Thus may he, with God's help, be enabled to serve as he has served, and to continue to achieve as he has achieved.

In his message the President recommends that "To commemorate our 35th Anniversary, the incoming Executive Board publish in a small volume the principles and achievements of the Central Conference
I of American Rabbis." While agreeing with the spirit of this suggestion your Committee recommends that for practical reasons the publication of such a volume be deferred to the 50th anniversary of the Conference.

The President's survey of the great opportunity which is at hand for Israel to assert his spiritual mission and perform a prophetic office here an dnow concludes with the recommendation that "the Ex-
II ecutive Board study the feasibility and advisability of inviting to a conference or series of conferences religious leaders of the Church and Synagog for friendly discussion of those teachings and ideas that are the source and occasion of misunderstanding and prejudice with a view to a public revelation of the findings thereof." Your committee urges that this recommendation be concurred in.

We have at this Conference paid our meed of appreciation to the memories of Heyman Steinthal and Moritz Lazarus, the centenaries of whose birth occur this year. The President suggests that
III we give practical expression of our debt to Moritz Lazarus and his contribution to Liberal Judaism.

Your Committee therefore recommends that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to take proper recognition of this event and to send to the widow of Moritz Lazarus an appropriate expression of our appreciation of the services he rendered to Judaism.

We recommend further that the Executive Board consider the advisability of publishing in book form selections from the writings of Lazarus and Steinthal bearing on Judaism, and that the attention of members of the Conference be called to the centenaries with a view of referring to their contributions to Liberal Judaism in a sermon during the autumn.

Your Committee having studied with the greatest care the President's review of our co-operation in the social-economic rehabilitation of Palestine, the account of his contacts with the non-partisan group

IV which is studying the same problem, his recommendation that the Conference accept the tentative outline program of the newly contemplated Jewish agency as suggested by the non-partisan group, and his recommendation that a Committee be appointed to co-operate with this group or with a more inclusive body in the further development of this program recommends:

(a) That the Conference reaffirm its agreement to co-operate in the rehabilitation of Palestine.

(b) That the Conference favors the formation of a non-partisan group for the development of Palestine, that the President continue his unofficial co-operation with the non-partisan conference mentioned in the message, in the further development of its program, but that no final action be taken until approved by the members of our Conference in convention assembled.

(c) In view of the fact that at a recent Conference held in New York City in which representatives of Jewish organizations of national scope including our Conference participated, an emergency committee was organized to study the problem of migration of our brethren, your committee recommends that the Conference co-operate in the study and solution of this great problem which confronts the Jews of the world.

V Your Committee concurs in the recommendation of the President that our program next year include a Round Table discussion on The Place and Function of the Temple Center in Congregational Life.

VI The President's recommendation of a reinterpretation of our stand on the Bible in the public schools has been referred by your committee to the Committee on Church and State. All other recommendations of the President have been referred by the Conference to appropriate committees.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman,*
ISAAC LANDMAN, *Secretary,*
ISRAEL BETTAN,
HYMAN G. ENELOW,
MAX HELLER,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
LOUIS L. MANN,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
MARCUS SALZMAN,
TOBIAS SCHANFARBER,
RICHARD M. STERN,
JOSEPH STOLZ.

The report was received and the recommendations were considered *seriatim.*

Recommendation I was adopted.
Recommendation II was adopted.

Recommendation III-a was referred to the Executive Board.
Recommendation III-b was adopted.
Recommendations IV-a-b-c were adopted.
Recommendation V was adopted.
Recommendation VI was adopted by a rising vote.

The report was adopted as a whole.

RECOMMENDATION IV-C.

Rabbi Frisch: I arise to oppose this. My feelings on the subject of nationalism and the feelings of other men are pretty well known, but I believe that the time has passed by when we can make merely an affirmation and defer action.

If I understand this resolution, it means that we postpone action for at least another year. Incidentally it means the approval of the next Conference.

I make a suggestion that you insert the words, "by the members of our Conference."

Rabbi Philipson: I am not surprised that Rabbi Frisch said what he did because not knowing what is really going on he could not have taken any other stand.

What has happened is this: A conference of individuals was called who were invited to consider the formation of a non-partisan group. Our President went as an individual, not as a representative of the Conference.

No program at all has been adopted by that non-partisan group. No organization was represented in that meeting. They were simply individuals.

Your Committee felt that there was nothing before it except the statement of our President that he had gone there as an individual and the matter is still in flux. We do not know what they are going to do and we cannot act until we do know the program of the non-partisan group.

Rabbi Frisch: I yearn to do something for Palestine, as my convictions define it, and I believe that if this non-partisan group

can get together on a program in two, three, or five months, it is time for us to act, and I am willing to authorize our Executive Board to act for us.

The Armistice was signed in 1918. Six years have passed. If we wait for this matter to come up before our Conference another year shall have passed. Meanwhile Palestine is being rehabilitated without the joy that we may have in taking a share in it. Up to this time I refused to take any action because it meant a compromise in my principles, but my principles will be amply protected, and I am now in favor of quick action. I want this done in one of two ways. The best way will be to have a referendum of the members of our Conference, then it will be democratic, we will know what we are doing. If you don't want a referendum I am willing to trust the Executive Board to do this work, but I am not willing to delay any longer, so I am opposed to the recommendation as brought in. I suggest the rewording, the modification of that resolution.

Rabbi Landman: Rabbi Frisch's zeal is commendable but the fact remains that nothing is yet in definite form. The probable action will be this: that the Committee of this non-partisan group which is studying the feasibility of the problem will report back to the non-partisan group of individuals.

The President made clear that he was invited as an individual and he need not have been so modest because so humble a man in the ranks as myself was invited as an individual.

The Special Committee will report back to these individuals, then requests will be sent out to organizations to send representatives and these representatives will then develop a program anew, or accept the program which the Committee will submit, so that there is no necessity for hurrying at all, and I urge that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

Rabbi Frisch: May I speak again? This is very near to my heart. I do not object to having our Conference pass upon it if the natural evolution of this movement will not mature until then, but if it should mature in January, I do not want our Con-

ference to trail along, because for years we have been protesting that we want to do something and now that an opportunity is given us to do something for Palestine, consistent with our principles, I do not want the Conference to be the last organization, but if possible one of the first, so I do not want to rule out the possibility of our acting in time. If matters do not develop until our next convention it will be so much the better because we will have a chance for discussion.

I offer as a substitute, to change the wording so it will not necessitate a waiting for the convention.

Chairman Wolsey: There is an amendment. The amendment of Rabbi Frisch is to the effect that there be action by the Conference if news comes to us of the formation of this group with an official statement, and that the Executive Board be empowered to take a referendum vote of the members of the Conference if they are able to make some official statement prior to the next convention.

Rabbi Thurman: Speaking to the recommendation of the Committee as amended by Rabbi Frisch, I want to say that I hope this amendment will carry without any fear on my part at least, or on the part of those who agree with me, and without any suspicion as to whether this is going to be a non-partisan group or not, for this reason: that even if Dr. Simon goes as official representative of this Conference, it will simply be expressive of the yearning that Rabbi Frisch has and that I have and that many of you have, that this Conference do something toward the rehabilitation of Palestine, by a non-partisan group.

The amendment was not carried.

Chairman Wolsey: The Chair interprets this resolution simply to mean that this agency is as yet an unofficial agency, that there is an attempt being made to create an official agency to do a specific work, and that our President goes there in an unofficial capacity as he has before, and that he is not the official represen-

tative of the Conference to this group until the agency itself is officially organized.

The President, Abram Simon, takes the Chair.

The report of the Pension Commission was taken up for discussion. (See page 99).

Rabbi Newfield: Last January Mr. Vogelstein met with the Pension Fund Committee of the Conference, and presented his report, and we had a full discussion of it then, and at our suggestion he sent out a statement of the plan to every member of the Conference for study, requesting that you send your suggestions to him or to your Chairman, Rabbi Stolz. Those of us that studied it found that according to the plan it will not be practicable for any rabbi above the age of forty-five to come into this because of the large expense involved. For the younger rabbis it seems to be the most practicable plan that has been evolved up to the present time.

Now all that this report asks is that we, in principle, approve this No. 3 plan of Mr. Vogelstein's which he, after a very careful study, presents. He submits with it several other plans, but he says none of the others are practicable at all, and he recommends plan No. 3.

Rabbi Frisch: Mr. Chairman, I am not an insurance man, as all of you know. I think that you and all of us understand sufficiently well something about the idea of pension methods to make me feel that what has been presented by Mr. Vogelstein is not the last word on this subject. I think we ought to do what the Episcopalians have done. They released Bishop Morris, of Massachusetts, for one year and he raised seven million dollars through the proper organization, as the basic fund for the pension plan. With that as a basis, a very small percentage of money is necessary from the congregation and from the ministry.

Rabbi Wolsey: It has been said that we can go out and raise the $1,500,000. All I have to say to you is, God bless you.

Go out and get it, but I say to you that I, as a member of this Conference, and as a rabbi, would feel as though I were stultifying myself if I went out to the congregations of Israel and asked them to raise money to pension me. Not that I do not favor the solicitation of the congregations for such a reserve, but I do not think the rabbis ought to ask for it, or go around begging for themselves. I consider that undignified.

Rabbi Morgenstern: This is a matter that can be settled only by careful and responsible study. It is clear we cannot settle it here tonight. I would like to ask whether it would be in order to move that a special committee be appointed to carefully weigh the plans and to determine which is the best plan for this Conference, and give this Committee full power to act. You cannot determine what is the best plan for the Conference by voting. You can determine the best plan only by careful study and a committee of five or seven that will carefully analyze these plans can vote far more intelligently and profitably on behalf of the Conference than the Conference, as a large body, can vote for itself.

Rabbi Wolsey: I heartily endorse the motion, provided the question is committed, not to a special committee to be appointed by the Chair, but to our Pension Fund Committee. That is a Committee that has spent a lot of time through the years upon the subject of relief and pension, and it is capable of handling the question.

This Relief or Pension Fund Committee has no power in the premises; its only power, of course, is to say to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis approves of such a plan that you have submitted for its consideration, or it does not. It is an actuarial proposition and I am sure I don't understand it all, and I am quite sure there are a number of members of the Conference who also do not understand it. The general question I think we can decide upon. Does our group feel that $1,500,000 can be raised for a reserve? That is a question upon which we can make a decision. If we feel that we cannot raise it, the thing to do is to adopt plan No. 3,

which means that every man under forty-five is insured to the amount of half his salary, provided the amount of the pension does not exceed $2,500, and that the premiums upon that pension are to be paid in two ways, one part by the Union, a small part by the way, and the other part by the congregation, and if the congregation does not choose to pay that part of the premium, any rabbi has the right to pay that part himself.

That is what Plan No. 3 in brief is, as I understand it. I think the Union will be perfectly satisfied to accept the recommendation of this Committee and if the Conference will leave the matter in the hands of the Pension Fund Committee, I think we can abide by their decision, and they will decide for our benefit, of course.

It was moved and adopted that the question of a plan of pension be referred back to the Pension Committee with power to formulate a plan and present it to the Joint Commission or to the Union.

The report was then adopted as amended.

The Conference then adjourned.

The following reports were presented to the Executive Board and ordered printed in the Yearbook.

REPORT OF THE TRACT COMMISSION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Tract Commission, representative of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations begs leave to report on its activities during the past year.

Early last fall a communication was addressed to the members of the Conference, asking them to suggest subjects for tracts and also writers for these tracts. In reply, a large number of letters were received from the rabbis containing a variety of suggestions for tract material.

Since several members of the Commission were in Cincinnati on October 30th for another meeting, they met also for an informal discussion of the immediate problems of the Tract Commission with reference to securing writers of tracts. The various replies received from members of the Conference together with the subjects suggested for tracts were examined in detail and the Committee on Subjects and

Writers, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, Chairman, was requested to communicate further with those offering to submit tracts.

The Editorial Committee is now examining a number of manuscripts that have been submitted. We are not prepared at this time to make definite report as to the future publication of tracts.

At the same informal conference on October 30, 1923, it was suggested that instead of having one rabbi write the Holiday Press Notices, a number of rabbis be invited to write them, each one writing a notice for one holiday. The writers were to be requested to prepare a notice for a different holiday each year. The following rabbis consented to write these press notices: Joseph Leiser, Clifton H. Levy, Felix Mendelsohn, Lee J. Levinger, Jonah Wise, Rudolph I. Coffee and Louis Witt. Our thanks is herewith extended to these rabbis for their volunteer services in this connection.

Carrying out the resolution of the Commission to reprint the tracts in the form of handsome paper booklets for general sale, the four tracts of the Commission were thus republished during the past year. These booklets are on display at this meeting of the Conference. They have been offered for general sale through the Sisterhoods. Of Tract No. 1, more than 10,000 copies have already been sold. The remaining tracts will undoubtedly receive the same wide distribution during the coming year. It has been suggested that these same booklets be placed on sale in the general bookstores throughout the country as part of a Jewish educational series. The price of 10c per booklet should lead to a wide distribution and consequently to a corresponding dissemination of information on Jewish life and ideals.

The usual activities of the Commission were carried on during the past year. This consisted of the publication and distribution of a Holiday Sermon Pamphlet, the distribution of Holiday Press Notices and Holiday Calendars. The Sermon Pamphlet for the coming year is now in the hands of the printer.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON,
Chairman.

REPORT OF PRO-FALASHA COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Chairman has the privilege to present his first report to this Conference concerning the Falasha work.

The American Pro-Falasha Committee, of which your chairman has served as Secretary and Director of its campaign, has entered upon the second year of its work in maintaining and promoting the program of activity in Abyssinia under the direction of Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch. At

the end of the first year's work during the summer of 1923, the American Pro-Falasha Committee mailed to all the rabbis a printed statement of the budget and the disbursements, so that everyone might have a clear understanding of what the Falasha program involved. We are now entering upon the second year of our work, with an equal budget. The appeal was launched rather late this year, making it extremely difficult for many of our rabbis to make provision for our appeal in the face of many other obligations that they had undertaken. It has been found necessary to postpone the appeal for the Falasha cause until the fall of this year, in a great number of instances.

Our success has been only partial. We are far from having secured the entire budget. We are compelled to rely for the greater portion of our funds upon the interest and support of our colleagues, who have promised to respond in September. In round figures, we still need $12,000 in order to meet the budget for this year. If the members of the Central Conference fail to support this work, there is great danger of this magnificent program in Abyssinia being impaired.

We cannot speak too highly of this experimental enterprise that is so full of promise from the standpoint of our faith and of civilization. Surely, every member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis will feel enthusiastic in promoting this undertaking and in lending to it his hearty support.

In the campaign for this year, we deviated from the program of a year ago, when we appointed a chairman for each city. This season we have asked each rabbi to assume the responsibility for a certain sum, to be obtained from his congregation alone. In suggesting quotas, we have indicated sums that are quite modest, so as to put it within the reach of possibility for each rabbi. We take this opportunity to appeal to our colleagues who are at the Conference, to pledge their support, and to promise to undertake an appeal in our behalf in September, if they have not already responded.

J. MAX WEIS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMITTEE ON MOTION PICTURES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: As representative of the Conference on the Committee on Public Relations of the Motion Picture Industry, I beg leave to report that this Committee is doing a fine piece of work in morally stabilizing the motion picture industry. Its influence has been effective in curbing the salacious tendency of some producers, in raising the tone of motion pictures generally and in arranging for educational films to be given at special children's matinees.

I attended one meeting of the committee in New York City, on April 29, 1924, and had the honor to be invited to address the committee in behalf of the Conference, and am happy to add, that my address was well received, was reproduced from stenographic report and sent out with the literature of the committee.

The Conference should, by all means, continue its relationship with the Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

MONDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

The meeting was called to order with the President, Rabbi Abram Simon, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Jacob Pollock.

The minutes of the previous day's session were read and confirmed.

It was moved and adopted that the sum of $50.00 be given to the sufferers from the storm of the previous day which had done much damage in the neighboring cities of Sandusky and Lorain, Ohio.

The report of the Special Committee on Marriage and Divorce Laws was read by Rabbi Bettan.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: At the Fall meeting of the Executive Board of the Conference, this special committee was delegated to study the papers submitted to the Commission on Marriage and Divorce, to abstract the results of their findings and present the conclusions to the Conference.

Your committee has carefully examined the material on hand and begs leave to report its inability to carry out in full the instructions of the Executive Board.

In 1921, at the Washington Conference, the Chairman of the Commission, in explaining the plan and purpose of the Commission's work, delivered the following statement: "After all these assignments have been made and all the papers presented, the reports will then be referred to an editorial committee, which will condense all these papers into a manual. Such manual will then be presented in such a form as can be sent out to

every member of the Conference for revision and suggestion, and after these criticisms have been considered by the Commission, the book can be presented to the Conference for adoption."

Having pursued its investigations with this original purpose of the Commission in mind, your committee could not but be impressed with the inadequate character of the material gathered, and with its evident lack of harmony in aim, method and result. The papers as presented are merely preliminary studies; they were meant to be such by their respective contributors. They have not yet reached that stage where the process of condensation and harmonization may be profitably begun. In the opinion of your committee, this initial part of the task must be first completed with all the thoroughness possible before any of the subsequent steps can be taken.

Therefore, your committee recommends that the Commission on Marriage and Divorce be continued; and that it be instructed to meet in conference and take all the necessary steps to carry its original plan into execution.

ISRAEL BETTAN, *Chairman,*
SAMUEL S. COHON.

The report was received and adopted.

The Committee having failed to carry out the intent of Resolution X, (Yearbook, Vol. XXIII, p. 93), which had been referred to it, it was moved that the Committee be again requested to prepare a report on such traditional marriage laws as might be in conflict with our modern interpretation, like the Levirate Halizah and report to the next convention.

The Chairman of the Committee on Religious Education, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, takes the Chair and presents the Religious Education Day program.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your chairman of the Committee on Religious Education enters upon his duties with the hope of presenting a constructive program for the improvement of the educational standards now in practice in our religious schools. The program for this year divides itself into two parts: The first consists of a survey of conditions prevailing in our schools. Your committee intends to arrange future programs according to the disclosure of the needs that this survey will reveal. A thorough

understanding of actual conditions now prevailing forms the best point of departure to what might be and should be.

The second part of this year's program is entitled "Experiences in High School and Normal School Work." Those who will participate will not burden you with finely spun theories on education in general and Jewish education in particular, nor will they give you the technicalities of the psychology of adolescence—all of which may be had in standard and well known books. This part of the program will resolve itself into an "experience meeting" and members of the Conference who have achieved some measure of success have been asked to lay aside all modesty and relate what they have done and are doing, the success or failure that has attended their various experiments, in order that their experience might prove helpful to others. The chairman suggests that after the papers have been read, the members of the Conference should direct their questions to any of those who have participated and also contribute such experiences of their own as may prove helpful.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS L. MANN,
Chairman.

The report of the Joint Commission on Religious Education was presented by Rabbi David Philipson.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: As Chairman of the Joint Commission on Jewish Education composed of appointees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, it gives me exceeding pleasure to report that the work of the Commission is definitely and surely on the march. After years of effort and experimentation a clean cut program has been mapped out. This has been made largely possible because for the first time in the prosecution of its great work in the field of Jewish Education the Commission has had at its service the fine ability and untiring energy of a trained educational expert, Dr. Emanuel Gamoran. As will appear abundantly from this report, Dr. Gamoran has toiled unremittingly and well. He has succeeded in systematizing the work and has been of great help to the Commission in carrying out its activities.

I present herewith a statement of these activities during the past year:

The Commission held two meetings, one at Cape May, N. J., on June 28, 1923, and the other at New York, on January 28-29, 1924.

At the last meeting of the Conference, the curriculum for elementary and secondary religious schools was presented before this body by the Commission. The members of the Conference were requested to submit their criticisms. On the basis of those criticisms, changes were made in the curriculum. The most important achievement of the Commission during the past year was the final adoption of the curriculum as thus modified.

Another important and forward-looking step taken by the Commission was the organization of the Commission into four sub-committees as follows: Committee on Elementary Education; Committee on Youth Education; Committee on Adult and University Education and Committee on Teacher-Training.

Under the auspices of these committees, a plan of publication has been prepared and adopted, which, we trust will result in the issuance of text-books in accordance with the requirements of the new curriculum. Definite arrangements have already been made with several authors, and consequently, we hope to be able to supply the urgent need for good text-books, quite soon.

It need scarcely be stated that the preparation of text-books requires a great deal of time, thought and energy and that these books cannot be created by fiat. This task requires years. It must be done gradually and carefully. The Commission hopes to have the work well done and as expeditiously as possible.

PUBLICATIONS

During this past year the following new publications have appeared:

(a) The new curriculum, as revised on the basis of criticisms and suggestions submitted by the members of the Conference.

(b) "The Book of Genesis," for pupils, by Adele Bildersee. This is the first of a series of Bible readers for very young children, to be published by the Department of Synagog and School Extension. It has been printed in large type and is illustrated.

(c) "The Book of Genesis" Teachers' Manual, by Adele Bildersee. This is a book which is to be used in connection with the Pupils' Book on the same subject. It contains the content material that should enter into the teaching of each story and adds many suggestions on method.

(d) "The Paper Hat." A Purim Play. By Mrs. Fannie Barnet Linsky.

(e) Educational Monograph No. 1, entitled "Text-Books and Teachers' Helps." By Dr. Emanuel Gamoran.

(f) Educational Monograph No. 2, entitled "Teacher-Training for Jewish Schools." By Dr. Emanuel Gamoran. This monograph contains practical suggestions to rabbis and principals for the purpose of preparing Jewish religious teachers for their schools. This

is one of the first attempts, if not the first, to present a teacher-training program which will meet the needs of the many smaller Jewish communities that have no teacher-training schools of their own.

A number of manuscripts are in press or in the process of preparation for the press and still others are in the hands of the authors for completion.

A survey of the religious schools affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has been made by Dr. Gamoran, under the auspices of the Commission on Jewish Education and the Religious Education Committee of the Central Conference. The results of the survey are to be presented by Dr. Gamoran in the paper that he is to read at this session.

LECTURES AND EXHIBITS

In the course of the year, Dr. Gamoran delivered a series of lectures on the new curriculum and on "The Project Method in the Jewish School," before the State Teachers' Association of Louisiana, and the State Teachers' Association of Alabama, and also before the teachers at Chicago. The exhibit on Jewish Education was displayed at both meetings of the Teachers' Association. By request of Rabbi Tarshish, of Columbus, Ohio, a survey of his religious school was made by Dr. Gamoran. The exhibit was also displayed at the meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Social Workers at Toronto, where Dr. Gamoran read a paper on "What Do We Mean by Jewish Education?"

A leave of absence of one year for further study abroad has been granted Dr. Gamoran by the Department of Synagog and School Extension. We wish him and his dear wife a pleasant and profitable year and hope that he will return to us in health and with an even finer equipment for the great and important task with which we have entrusted him.

Now that the curriculum has been finally revised in accordance with the suggestions and criticisms of the members of this Conference, every one of whom had the opportunity of studying the curriculum, it is the earnest hope of the Joint Commission that the curriculum will be introduced into all the schools under the guidance of the members of this body. Doubtless with the passing of time and the practical application of the curriculum changes will suggest themselves. In the name of the Commission I bespeak the frank and friendly co-operation of every member of the Conference. We hope that we may be given the benefit of any aid that the members feel able to give. It need scarcely be said that any and every suggestion made will receive the careful and respectful consideration of the Joint Commission.

May I call especial attention to the urgent recommendation of the desirability, nay, the necessity of an additional session on some week day. The curriculum has made provision for a two-day per week session. We

understand fully that so radical a departure can be realized only gradually. We recognize local difficulties and conditions. But when all is said, there will be scarcely any dissent from the proposition that not sufficient time is had for the religious education of our children and our youth under the single session plan now in vogue in well nigh all our congregations. Let us all strive towards an ever increasing amount of time devoted to religious education. This is indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In conclusion, I desire in the name of the Commission to thank those members of the Conference who took the time and the pains to send in suggestions and criticisms. Even if all these suggestions were not adopted and even if all these criticisms were not acted upon favorably, it goes without saying that each and every one received careful attention. During the past year better and more effective work has been done than in any preceding single year. May each succeeding year witness an ever increasing co-operation between the great organizations which our Joint Commission represents and an ever growing spirit of helpfulness of the members of the Conference, toward supplementing the efforts of the Commission in meeting the need, than which there is none greater in American Jewish life today, namely, the spiritual training of the children and the youth. So let us toil together in helpfulness and sympathy and may our God prosper the work!

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON,
Chairman.

A paper on the results of a Survey of Religious Educational Conditions in Reform Congregations was read by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, Educational Director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. (Appendix N).

Papers on Experiences in High School Grades in Religious Schools were read by Rabbis Morris S. Lazaron and Samuel Koch and a paper on Experiences in Normal School Work was presented by Rabbis Louis Wolsey and Louis L. Mann.

The President, Rabbi Simon, takes the chair.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was then presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Nominations begs leave to make the following report:

Honorary President, Kaufmann Kohler.
President, Abram Simon.
Vice-President, Louis Wolsey.
Treasurer, Morris Newfield.
Recording Secretary, Isaac E. Marcuson.
Corresponding Secretary, Morris S. Lazaron.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Two Years

David Philipson — Abba Hillel Silver

One Year

Gerson B. Levi — Edgar F. Magnin

ADVISORY BOARD, HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

David Marx — Louis Witt

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY ETTELSON,
Chairman,
FREDERICK COHN,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
SAMUEL M. GUP,
SOL. L. KORY,
MEYER LOVITCH,
JOSEPH RAUCH,
LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN,
SIDNEY S. TEDESCHE.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was unanimously adopted and the Recording Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the officers, members of the Executive Board, and the Conference representatives nominated in the report.

The closing prayer and benediction were pronounced by Rabbi Morgenstern. The session closed with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and *En Kelohenu* by all the members of the Conference.

The Conference adjourned *sine die.*

APPENDIX

A

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

To the thirty-fifth annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, I bid you a hearty welcome. From modest beginnings our Conference has grown to the stately proportions of an organization numbering two hundred and seventy-five members, the largest and the longest in point of existence of any similar society in our Jewish history. Three and a half decades of meritorious service lie behind us. Those years are crowded with splendid efforts toward unifying and beautifying our ritual and practice, with safe and wholesome contributions of thought and measures to the progress of Reform Judaism, with accepted pronouncements on questions of principle, policy and practice, with closer fellowship among the rabbis of liberal tendency, and with fruitful co-operation with many Jewish and non-Jewish national bodies on matters of great moment. Though the history of the Conference is comparatively brief, it has already developed admirable traditions of its own, a psychical atmosphere and an inner spiritual compulsion into which members enter and which they absorb. The Conference has traveled far enough on the road of achievement to call forth the need and talent of an historian to evaluate its services in the perspective of American Israel.

In the light of these years, the penetrating vision and the constructive energy of Isaac M. Wise rise into praiseworthy appreciation. His call for unity did not fall on deaf ears. His appraisal of Reform Judaism as a directive entity in an American environment, his insistance upon a union of congregations as a practical vehicle for the development of Jewish life, his founding of the Hebrew Union College for the graduation of rabbis to perpetuate the faith, and his creation of our Conference have been realized within the compass of a few decades to a greater degree than even his fervid imagination and burning enthusiasm could have believed possible. Such realization must rejoice his spirit, as even now, from the realms of immortality, it beams blessings upon us.

July 9th, 1889, was an historic day for Reform Judaism. While the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was in session in the city of Detroit, thirty rabbis gathered together to form a Rabbinical Association. Many of them have been called to their reward; and some are fortunately with us, with the enrichment of experience, zeal and counsel. Rabbi David Philipson submitted the propositions for the convening of the organization, while our lamented Rabbi Henry Berkowitz acted as secretary. Four paragraphs in that document stand out in clear and compelling relief; the need of a Conference, the maintenance "in unbroken historic succession of the formulated expression of Jewish thought and life of each year;" the publication of a Year Book and the creation of a Relief Fund to "prevent an unfortunate colleague or his family from becoming humiliated as objects of charity." Eighty years have passed since the memorable Conference at Braunschweig upon whose foundation the new Conference of Rabbis was to rear its stately edifice. How well they builded, how firmly they fashioned the precious stones into the structure, and of what strength and comfort the gradual rearing of the same has been to us and to American Israel are well within the precincts of appreciation of the present generation. Our thirty-fifth anniversary thus begins its deliberations with a full consciousness of its debt of gratitude to Isaac M. Wise and his

confreres, no less than with a deepened sense of responsibility to remain loyal to their vision and their trust, and to carry on the work bequeathed to us with ever increased devotion, love and scholarly performance. Mindful that, on the Silver Anniversary, a Review of the Principles and Achievements of our Conference was read by Rabbi David Philipson, I believe that the record should be brought up to date. Valuable papers and resolutions are often buried in Year Books. The story of our Conference ought to be in compact and ready form in the hands of our congregations and in the libraries of the land.

I recommend that the incoming Executive Board publish in a small volume, The Principles and Achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

REFORM JUDAISM

Our anniversary bears an intimate relationship to the philosophy and progress of Reform Judaism in the United States. The Centenary of The Reform Society of Israelites in Charleston, S. C., the Centenary of the Rockdale Avenue Temple in Cincinnati, Ohio, the seventieth anniversary of the arrival of Isaac M. Wise in Cincinnati, Ohio, the seventieth anniversary of the appearance of the *Minhag America,* the Jubilee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of the Union Prayer Book, and the recent printing in booklet form of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh Conference in honor of Dr. K. Kohler's eightieth birthday anniversary are shining milestones in the onward march of Reform Judaism in our land. Reform Judaism has passed its experimental and apologetic stage. The party cries of early disputations are behind us. Liberal Judaism is a fairly definite formulation of Jewish doctrine and practice in consonance with the spirit of our age and country, yet holding within its heart the possibility of progressive expansion. We have made *The Revaluation of Reform Judaism* the central theme of our convention.

In this spirit it may be stimulating to inquire what newer interpretations of our religion may be necessary, what opportuni-

ties for the deepening and extension of the religious spirit may be grasped, what old or new fields call for plowing. We need to reassure ourselves so that, holding firmly the ground we have already won, we may move forward courageously and Jewishly into the probable spiritual environment in which we may find ourselves. In the discussion between the Fundamentalists and Modernists of the Christian Church we take no part. We watch it as silent but interested spectators. The fundamental principle of our Reform is definitely settled. We have not, we dare not repudiate the past. We have, and we must reinterpret it for ourselves. Reform Judaism is predicated on an historic basis. The tie that binds us to the Torah and the traditions of our fathers is unbreakable. Reform presupposes a foundation of previous achievements. We find the principle of Reform in the very structure of ancient Jewish idealism as expressed in the Bible and in later Jewish literature. We find the principle and the justification of Reform in the very nature of mentality. We find the principle and the justification of Reform in the urge and direction of American life in a democracy. Reform Judaism is a conviction that the soul of Judaism can rise superior to environment and the impact of its materialism. We have no quarrel with Orthodoxy or Fundamentalism in Israel. A profound respect for all sincere believers in the immutability of the written and oral Law and in rabbinic Judaism possesses our hearts. In the thirty-five years of our existence, a new generation of Jews has grown up. The next decades will find us working with the sons of the immigrants and the daughters of orthodox parents. We would work harmoniously with them in all good causes for their sakes and for the sake of all Israel. The parting of the ways is not marked by haste, hate or impetulance. The perpetuation of our beloved religion is our paramount pride and duty. Our method of securing such perpetuation and enrichment is to move forward prayerfully and confidently according to the light which the progressive revelation of divine truth throws upon our path.

A WORLD RELIGION

The spectacle of a distracted world reinforces our conviction. A civilization held together by a thread must convert it into a cable of hope and security. The power to fashion that anchor lies in the bosom and promise of religion. One needs not special illumination to see and understand the gnawing hunger and the burning thirst of humanity for the bread and the waters of the living God. Religion is, after all, the supreme interest of the human race. In its proper interpretation, and in the realization of its relationship to God in terms of morality and righteous conduct lies the healing of the broken heart of the race. The reaction against materialism is in full swing. The twilight of the old gods is far into the night of oblivion. The morning dawn, still enveloped in disappearing mists, is breaking upon a world lifting up its feeble hands, and sending forth its sighs and songs to the Power that sleepeth not and slumbereth not. Whether a new religion is in the throes of birth or a modern religion is grooming itself "as a young man to run a race," I know not. But what I do feel is that we, who "have waited on the Lord" for thirty centuries and, though at times have grown weary and crestfallen, have in each epoch amazingly drawn upon our hidden resources of power and faith, and renewed our youth like the eagle. O, for a rebirth of Jewish faith, Jewish passion, Jewish courage, Jewish idealism! O, if we can but stir the soul of the Jew, at least in our land, to bear proudly and to acclaim in the face of obstacle and misunderstanding the priestly task, and make him a seeker and lover of God, a people of prayer, a people ever translating its spiritual truths into ethical behavior and daily practice! A people conceived in religion and dedicated to the sublime task of winning humanity to its ideals can alone be worthy of our past and our present opportunity and responsibility! The world of religious earnestness awaits our earnestness. Are we ready? Are we sufficiently religious and God-conscious to meet the magnificent opportunity awaiting our fervor? Have we anything to offer to still the hunger, to satiate the thirst?

We have undesignedly directed the world's attention to our talents or our weaknesses, but we failed to call its attention to our religiousness, to our spiritual truths, to our missionary passion, and have not yet convinced our fellowmen that we have a message that can win their intellectual and religious assent. What have we to offer for their approbation?

First of all, we claim that our ideal of God is unimpaired by the revelation of science, unexhausted by the highest human personality, undimmed by the glowing torch of philosophy, and yet whose indwelling is the joy and stimulus of every aspiring soul. Such an ideal, interpreted in its moral demands on us and expressed in the perfection of His moral nature, is Ethical Monotheism.

Second, God's nature is akin to the soul that bears His image. The ethical worth of the soul is inseparably bound up with the sacredness of human life, here and hereafter. The soul has the endowment of intuition by which it may apprehend something of the nature of Reality. In it is the wellspring of such emotions which reveal themselves as faith, prayer, hope and love. No barrier separates God from His child, and no medium save sincerity itself is necessary for an experience of His presence and saving grace. Its immortality lies in the guarantee of God's love.

Third, the purpose of such a relationship between the soul of man and God is best interpreted in the question of the prophet who asks: "What does God require of Thee? Only to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Ethical Monotheism has its correlative in Ethical Humanity. Religion is at its best when it eventuates in personal, national and international morality. To discover the law of righteousness as flowing out of the nature of God is Judaism's educational and prophetic achievement. The Law shall make you free. In this freedom through law lies the right of man to co-operate with God in the perfecting of His kingdom. "Whoever renders a lawful decision becomes a partner of God in the work of creation." Judaism thus offers man a copartnership with God. Law

expresses not only the sublime orderliness of nature but also the necessary discipline in life. Without weakening its appeal to the individual conscience, Judaism has ever widened its ethical insistance beyond geographical, and national and racial boundaries by declaring that "Righteousness exalts a nation."

Lastly, the Brotherhood of man will become a reality because it is implicit in the Fatherhood of God. This is Israel's Messianic dream. The frailty of the flesh, the slow education of the human race and a sane psychology compelled our prophets to give the realization of this sublime hope a limitless stretch of time. The goal lies ahead. The compulsion rests upon all for a continual moral struggle to eliminate hatred, prejudice, injustice and war. God is committed to the eventual triumph of freedom, love, justice and peace on earth. God's commitment is man's superb opportunity and sublime responsibility. The Messianic hope, not in the coming of one individual but in the gradual ascent of all humanity up the mountain heights of God, the sacredness of the soul and the enduringness of Law, transfuse and transfigure them in the vision of a realizable kingdom of God on earth.

Israel's destiny lies in being the instrument of these truths. Though differently phrased, the substance thereof has a thirty-century old charge and passion. Never has Israel abandoned his idea of God, of the soul, of Law and of the Messianic promise. Every land seems to have been a battleground for their defence. Thus by age-long experience, by the logic of history, by the claims of endowment, by the rights of service, and by the glory of present opportunity, Israel is particularly qualified to grasp the helm of leadership, assert his spiritual mission and perform his prophetic office. With no misappraisal of the past, now is the time for the witness of God to make good. The world will listen if we speak out of hearts that are aflame with faith, and love and zeal.

We celebrate this anniversary by a review of Reform Judaism. May we not the better celebrate it by an arousal of our Jewish people to a discipleship of religion and by a witnessing in

the highways and byways to the place of religion in our lives, and by pen and voice welcoming all men of all faiths to an understanding of our historic and never-to-be-surrendered mission?

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

I have no desire to anticipate the report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History. A review of the numerous manifestations of anti-Semitism in their virulent or milder aspects is not my purpose. You know too well the story of our martyrdom. When such ill will gives rise to a misunderstanding of our fundamental religious teachings, it is necessary to give heed. Is there anything in our theology that offers occasion or justification for the resurgence of prejudice? We cannot hide from ourselves the thrusting of the categories of nationality and race into the foreground of discussion. Legislation here and abroad is moving along the claims of an exaggerated nationalism and a melodramatic racialism. We recognize only too willingly that a nation represents the necessary and largest unit for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Loyalty to our nation is a *sine qua non.* But when defeatism or extreme nervousness invokes the pathology of nationalism and the hysteria of biology as evidence of true virility, we must, perforce, have grave concern for the peace of Israel and of society. So as not to be led too far afield, let me be quite specific. The doctrine of the chosen people is at stake. If German scholarship endeavored first to read Jesus out of the Jewish past and now to drive him back, we can not claim that this in anywise disturbs the fundamental teaching of the vast outstanding majority of Christians that Jesus is the Chosen One of the Lord. The racial theory puts the doctrine of the Chosen People in a Teutonic garb. A reading between the lines leads to the suspicion that we may have an Americanized version of this same theory of superior blood.

What is our historic teaching with respect to the choice of Israel? Our theory of the choice of Israel is not based on biology or boundary, but on Religion. It is a prophetic charge.

It is the bridge that links ethical monotheism with the Messianic hope. It is not an expression of vanity or favoritism. It does not permit the election of Israel to intimate the rejection of mankind. It is grounded in joyous responsibility. It in no wise limits the embracing love of God. It does not flaunt a racial superiority; it does proclaim a religious burden. To the doctrine of the choice of Israel by God is added the corollary of the choice of God by Israel. Israel could have chosen the myriad gods of Egypt, Canaan, Assyria, Greece and Rome, or the fewer gods of Persia, or the deified prophets of Mohammedanism and Christianity; yet he struggled along the alluring avenues of multiform cultures and philosophies until he reached the high plateau in his religious and prophetic idealism of the one and alone God, Creator, Ruler and Father of the Universe and of Mankind. Nothing in the world-thought of today justifies a change in our choice of God. Does the rebirth of hatred and prejudice justify a change in our teaching of God's choice of us?

Herein lies a present-day duty of the rabbis. The chosen people according to the Bible implies a life of conspicuous religious and ethical behavior, of deep insight, of mystic prayerfulness, of witnessing to Almighty God. If the religion of tomorrow wishes to appropriate, refine, enhance this idea and apply it to America, England or Japan; or ascribe it to Catholicism, Protestantism or Mohammedanism, we have no gainsay. Not the multiplication of the title but the multiplication of the task to witness to God and His righteousness interests us. The more champions we inspire for the Kingdom of God, the more do we advance our cause.

But the sore spot is not healed. Christianity assumes the rejection of Israel by God. In that theory of the rejection of Israel lies the cause of centuries of hatred, misunderstanding and prejudice. Turn the story of the past two thousand years inside and outside; use large or small lens, excuse or justify as you will, you cannot deny that brushing all secondary and tributary and contributory statements aside, the one outstanding phenomenon in Christian thinking and teaching has been, and is, that Israel's mission closed with the advent of the Chosen One, that Israel lost his

title of unique religiousness with the crucifixion of Jesus. We must call the attention of the Christian world to the fact that Israel was not rejected by God and that God was not rejected by Israel. Can we not in a dignified, scholarly and fraternal manner bring this truth to the prayerful attention of the leaders of Christian thought? If we can, the basis of a better understanding between us is laid; if we cannot, the future loses its radiance of hope. As chimerical as this may seem, I cannot erase this line of comfort from the tablet of my heart. We must approach the Messianic goal through the gateway of mutual understanding. Meetings of leaders of various denominations are becoming quite the thing. Such conferences seem to have the prestige of rabbinic precedent. Disputations in the Talmud between rabbis and philosophers are frequently recorded. In the Talmud the rabbi is invariably right. In the Middle Ages, disputations crop out in numerous cities. In the debates with the Catholic authorities, the rabbi is invariably adjudged wrong. His case is lost in advance. But today, is there such a fear in the possession of superiority, or is there such a loss in courtesy, freedom of thought and elemental sincerity as to drive the desire for a religious disputation among Jews, Catholics and Protestants beyond the pale of earthly possibility? I am not so cynical. I am incurably Messianic. I recall a Conference held in New York City under the presidency of Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, where representatives of the Conference met with leaders of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ to discuss the relation of Jews to Christians and which closed with the resolution: "We express the desire for further conferences and continued fellowship." A conference or series of conferences covering a long period of time may be necessary. Hope invites the ordeal. Everything otherwise has been tried. The time was never so critically importunate nor so glowingly auspicious. I recommend that the Executive Board study the feasibility and advisability of inviting to a conference or series of conferences religious leaders of the Church and Synagog for a friendly discussion of those teachings and ideas that are the source or occasion of misunderstanding and prejudice with a view to a public revelation of the findings thereof.

II

THE CENTENARY OF MORITZ LAZARUS

We cannot leave the field of Liberal Judaism without paying even this passing meed of appreciation to the unusual and scholarly services of Hermann Steinthal, the centenary of whose birth failed of consideration at our hands last year. The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Moritz Lazarus falls on the fifteenth of September, 1924, and furnishes us with an opportunity of viewing the philosophical foundation of Reform Judaism in the light of the intellectual contributions of Immanuel Kant. For such a story our program finds a fitting place. It is thus no effort to estimate the great services which Moritz Lazarus has rendered to our cause. Well was it that the Hebrew Union College signalized his seventieth anniversary by the honorary doctor's title. Well was it that the Jewish Publication Society of America gave to his *Ethics* the possibility of a wider reading in an English translation. We of the Conference recall with gratification that Moritz Lazarus presided over the Jewish Synod in Leipzig in 1869 and over the Conference in Augsburg in 1871. The tie that thus binds us to him is one of profound gratitude. My attention has been called to the distressful condition of poverty to which his widow, the famous and devoted Nahida Remy Lazarus, has been reduced. May not a practical expression of our debt to the memory of the great savant reveal itself in a concern for the physical comforts of his wife?

III I recommend that our Conference, through the Executive Board, as a tribute to the memory of Moritz Lazarus and of affectionate regard for Nahida Remy Lazarus, extend to the latter a honorarium that will add to her enjoyment of life.

THE JEWISH AGENCY

The President's Annual Report gives the names of the various national organizations with which he has co-operated in behalf of the Conference as Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations. In connection with the

Non-Partisan Group, he has associated himself in his individual capacity, has participated in discussions and sanctioned its principles without committing the Central Conference of American Rabbis to any of its conclusions. The program of the Non-Partisan Group has progressed far along as to justify him in bringing it formally into the business of this session, and of asking you to share his responsibility. The official statement of our Conference, adopted in connection with the Report of the Committee on President's Message (Yearbook XXVIII, page 133), remains as its repudiation of Nationalistic Zionism. Nothing has transpired to suggest any change in that well-worded document. The march of events, however, often leaves finely woven theories behind. Life breaks through the meshes of logic. Whatever we may say to the contrary, Palestinism is a more impressive responsibility, and calls to us as insistently as the condemnation of political Zionism. We are not viewing the segment of Palestine as equal in size or responsibility to the circumference of Israel's world hope. The rehabilitation of the Holy Land has our profound sympathy; yet we have only expressed it in a willing co-operation with the Palestine Development Council. The reclamation of Palestine cannot succeed on resolutions. Burning zeal, practical co-operation and financial support of a united Israel can alone make this hope come true. Accepting our Conference Resolution in its fullest import, the conclusion is inevitable that we must assist in the rehabilitation of the Holy Land either as individuals or as an organization. Individual labors are costly, dissipate energy, and put to naught the best of plans. Group activities by the Zionist organization did not win our support. Group activities by the Palestine Development Council did win our support. The merger of the Palestine Development Council with the newly created Investment Company is of probable consummation. If such a merger comes to pass, our relation to the Palestine Development Council automatically ceases. Until it does, our moral obligations to it must be held sacred. How to co-operate with any other responsible organization doing a similar kind of work and flying the same non-committal ban-

ner, brings us to ask if a *modus operandi* with the Zionist organization is now feasible, advisable and imperative.

The use of the words Zionist and non-Zionist is necessary, so long as important distinctions are comprehended by them. That these distinctions lie imbedded in historical and philosophical interpretations is obvious. That they cannot be legislated out of the minds of sincere advocates by mere protests is equally obvious. What is the common sense point of view? What should we do to make good our determination to facilitate immigration and to help in the reconstruction of Palestine?

A basis upon which non-Zionists may labor is furnished in the authoritative declaration of the recent Carlsbad Conference that a Jewish Agency be created of equal Zionist and non-Zionist representation to carry into effect the expectation of the Balfour Declaration. The non-Partisan Group is the first and only body which has thus far made any serious effort to formulate a workable program. Its tentative outlines may be delineated as follows:

(a) The Council or Jewish Agency shall be composed of one hundred and fifty members, to be equally divided between Zionists and non-Zionists. Forty per cent of the non-Zionist members are to be chosen from the United States.

(b) An Executive Board of eighteen is to be created of equal representation.

(c) A Body of Experts is to be selected by the Executive Committee to function in Palestine.

(d) With the acceptance of the Jewish agency in all lands, the Zionist Organization will discontinue as The Jewish Agency.

A thousand and one questions leap to the lip. Will the European Jews accept the American formula? Very likely, not in its entirety. Some one community of Jews must take the leadership and present a basis for discussion. That the non-Partisan Conference is trying to lead the way to an international Jewish agreement will, I believe, be commended rather than condemned

by our people in all countries. By what right does the United States merit so large a non-Zionist representation? The choice of forty per cent lends itself to alteration. On the basis of service, fairly large population, past financial support, and the prospect of unusually heavy contributions coming from the Jews of our country, especially from hitherto non-participating non-Zionists who are anxious for a voice in the expenditures of the money, this percentage appears reasonable.

What becomes of the Keren Hayesod? The Keren Hayesod, being an instrument for the economic and industrial development of the land and for the facilitation of immigration, and not used for propaganda purposes, is to be the financial mechanism of The Jewish Agency. Will the Zionist Organization retain its identity and how can we co-operate with it, knowing that many of its adherents do not believe that political Zionism is dead? I do not believe that these questions are insuperable barriers; at least, they should not be. The doubt clinging to the wording of the Balfour Declaration or the nationalistic promise implicit in it, disappears in the illuminating directness of the Churchill White paper. "When it is asked, what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride." The political government in Palestine operates on the definiteness of this interpretation. This is the official English declaration by which we must be guided. Individual mental reservations or open avowals of a Jewish State will have to be tolerated with patience and generosity. A few years of successful co-operation may lead to the disappearance of divisive adjectives.

More and more tightly will the lines be drawn around immigration into our country. If race shall be added to nation, and then religion added to both as bases of restriction, the coming of

Jews to our land in a few years will be impossible. In other words, the Jewish population in our land must grow from within. The outlook in European lands for Jewish settlements is not promising. Palestine, at least, holds out a beacon of hope for those of our brethren who wish to live there. To make it possible for them to come within the limits of reasonable and assimilable numbers implies an adequate preparation of the country, and this in lines of irrigation, colonization, hygiene, education and industrial development calls for a huge sum of money. Our interest in this great adventure is sincere enough to override our fears that some with whom we are to co-operate still find comfort in the illusive dream of a Jewish State. What form of political unity may be necessary five decades hence cannot be raised as an impassable obstacle against our desire for the creation of a Jewish Agency. It is our fond hope that the above mentioned formula for a Jewish Agency may be presented to a conference of Jewish representatives of our land for adoption. Without awaiting such an assembly, our Conference is now in the Valley of Decision.

Can we Jewish leaders not accept this formula or so modify it by safeguarding reservations as to express the willing attitude of non-Zionists? There are three courses: Organize a new non-Zionist group or continue our present irreconcilability, or co-operate with a non-Partisan Conference. I recommend the acceptance by our Conference of the basis recommended by the non-Partisan Group, and the appointment of a Committee to co-operate with the same or a more inclusive body in the further development of this program.

IV

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

Though we are silent witnesses of the stirring spectacle enacted within the Church, we cannot hide from ourselves the satisfaction in viewing the advance of liberal sentiment in matters of religion and social attitudes. Aside from the encouragement which it gives to Reform Judaism, it emphasizes the neces-

sity of looking to the Liberal Movement for the growth in tolerance and cordiality toward the Jewish people and Judaism in general. The liberal Christian is more likely to understand our point of view and to enter sympathetically into an appreciation of our psychology. Released from certain binding and blinding traditions, he can the more readily be *en rapport* with our religious outlook and message. Were the liberal-minded people in the United States brought together within the compass of one body, I believe that it would present a stately and a hope-begetting organization. There is a great task awaiting such an association. In the meanwhile, we send our greetings to The National Federation of Religious Liberals, wishing it a widening circle of supporters and a stimulating expansion of its labors.

TEMPLE CENTERS

The increasing complexity of our religious institutions reveals a marked counterpart in the multiform activities sanctioned by our Congregations. The Temple Center is such an innovation. It is an integral part of many congregations. In numerous instances it plays a creditably religious and educational role. That it can justify its continuance, that it can weave commonly understood secular activities into the larger fabric of synagogal responsibility, that it can win young people to find a congenial Home in the Temple by way of the Center are arguments to which we would desire to give willing and hearty assent. That the Temple Center may be a misplacement of zeal, or a dissipation of energy or an emphasis on illusive statistics has been alleged in many quarters. The movement is too fruitful with assuring possibilities to be dismissed with a cavalier shrug. Thus far its program represents the resourcefulness of each individual rabbi. A review of it in the light of the past ten years is eminently desirable, and that, too in connection with the numerous Jewish Community Centers springing to life all over our land. I recommend that our Program next year include a Round Table discussion on the Place and the Function of the Temple Center in Congregational Life.

V

CHURCH AND STATE

The Committee on Church and State has to its credit a record of meritorious work. Since the creation of this Committee, changes grave and significant, have come into the thought-life of our nation. Still vigilant against the inroads of sectarian legislation, our function must be more than that of a vigorous gesture of protest. Religion is calling for a hearing in the halls of learning, and the Bible resents its limited opportunity for character-formation to the Sunday and Mission Schools. The literary charm of the Bible has bowed to the fear of sectarian inoculation. Thus we, of Israel, a people dedicated to Religion and witnessing to it by means of the Bible are in a most embarrassing and semi-apologetic position by our enforced attitude of restricting the educational opportunities of Religion and the Bible in the development of the youth of our land. I know that the ground upon which I am treading bristles with difficulties and dangers. Without sacrificing the inviolable principle of a separated Church and State, we of this Conference must present an affirmative and statesmanlike method whereby the fundamentals of spiritual truth, held in common, the ethical ideals and the literature of the Bible can find a creditable place in the curriculum of the schools of our land.

It is not a betrayal of confidence to inform you that a group of nine men, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives of national educational bodies have had some preliminary sessions to find a common meeting-ground for an academic appreciation of Religion and its relation to education in a democracy, and to cultivate mutual understanding and co-operation among the great religious groups in America. While the statement of principles and other matters pertaining thereto are not ready for public release, I am merely referring to this endeavour as offering a suggestive and non-sectarian program in the higher schools of learning. The time has come for our Committee on Church and State to draw up a reinterpretation of the standpoint of our Conference, and I respectfully submit this to you as my recommendation.

VI

PEACE

A bond of moral insistance and logical unity ties the questions of Peace and Prohibition to those of Church and State. The ideal of Peace, institutionalized, internationalized and operative, challenges the devoted attention of the human race. It is the outstanding hope and necessity of humanity. It needs no eulogist. Imbedded in its bosom lie the fairest dreams of all. Nor need I detain you with any expression of our Jewish attitude throughout the centuries. Practical measures to organize for peace on international lines are known to you. This Conference has welcomed every sincere effort looking to international justice and co-operation. In keeping with your vote passed a year ago, your President, accompanied by Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, laid the Resolution on the Permanent Court of International Justice before a Senate sub-committee at a public hearing on this subject. Public sentiment is overwhelming in favor of our nation announcing a constructive foreign policy, working toward World-Peace. Public sentiment is overwhelming in favor of the adhesion of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice as a logical and practical expression of such a policy. The relationship of this Court to the League of Nations is not in itself an insuperable obstacle to the adherence of our nation, especially in view of the reservations indicated by our State Department. To create a new Court because we believe that the League of Nations, to which fifty-four nations already subscribe, is honeycombed with European politics and intrigue, to expect the forty-eight nations already constituent members to the International Court to renounce their allegiance to the League of Nations in order to win over the entrance and prestige of our nation to an International Court unrelated to the League, is to postpone deliberately our entrance into an International Court by laying down impossible and unacceptable conditions. The present Court, a great advance over the Hague Tribunals, has been in successful operation for two and a half years. No one of the adhering nations thinks of withdrawing its allegiance. The United States sacrifices neither its sovereignty nor its honor in a

membership in this Court. I commend to the members of our Conference an unremitting devotion to this ideal and opportunity so that in the very near future our great country whose Arbitration Treaties, Conference on Limitation of Arms and historic political career have done much for the happiness of the race, may climax it all in an enthusiastic acceptance of the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice to the end that increased authority, prestige and international guarantees may inhere in the edicts of this Court.

I feel that we rabbis have an enlarged opportunity for service. I covet for Israel the splendid reputation which the Quakers have gained because of their work for humanity during and since the close of the war. However much we may differ from them in our theology or conception of Pacifism, we unbegrudgingly admit that they have drawn to themselves the admiration of the world. They operate as a Committee of the Whole. Despite the matchless work and heroic sacrifices which the Jewish Relief Committees have brought to the salvation of great areas of humanity in Europe and elsewhere, the fact remains that our Jewish representatives have not been chosen to continue their humanitarian labors to the same degree as has been permitted to the Quakers. Let there be no abatement of our willingness to come to the rescue of our fellowmen, anywhere and everywhere!

Our Conference can stand at least for the following four proposals:

(1) The Adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

(2) The Call by the President of the United States of a Second Conference on the Limitation of Arms.

(3) A progressive education of the nations so that international agreement through an Association of nations may ultimately justify adequate preparedness only on a police status.

(4) Consistent education of the Will to Peace so that the Will to War may no longer be invoked as a justifiable method for the settlement of international disputes.

Our Conference ought to organize for Peace work. We ought to advise the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and other national Jewish bodies to constitute themselves into a great National Jewish unit for Peace-activities. In the meanwhile, I recommend that the Constitution of the Conference be so amended as to admit of a Standing Committee on Peace with the ultimate object of creating a Jewish National Commission on Peace and Good Will to co-operate with other national organizations.

VII

PROHIBITION

A discussion of Prohibition finds us in the arena of debate. A division of sentiment is unmistakable, but a judgment gained by a reading of the Press may be misleading. You need not a recital of the conditions that put Prohibition on our Statute books, nor a review of the many arguments adduced to justify its repeal and that of the Volstead Enforcement Act. I am not unmindful of the resolution of the Conference to have eliminated from the Law the unfortunate Exemption Privilege of Sacramental Wine.

My one concern is, "What ought to be the attitude of religious teachers and moral leaders in the premises?" If the question of the successful operation of peace-movements lies in the realm of education, discipline and restraint, I am certain that the successful enforcement of Prohibition rather than its repeal lies in the same direction. My eyes are not closed to the saddening revelation of non-enforcement, moral laxity, cunning evasion of law, increase of bootlegging and to the pitiable ridicule by respectable people of this whole question. That the law is not enforced does not altogether invalidate the virtue of the law. The evidence revealed in the press lends itself to dramatic climaxes. Insobriety has news value. Obedience to law is so obvious as not to have news value. The daily exhibitions of respect for law are ignored; the irrestraint thereof wins publicity. The repeal of the law is a confession of weakness and a concession to a lowering standard rather than a protest against the invasion of personal liberty and the impossibility of proper enforcement. We

stand for Law. We stand for this law as part of our Constitution. We stand for a stricter accounting of all officers entrusted with the enforcement of the law. We stand for wholesome discipline, for regulative restraint and for patriotic confidence in the integrity of the people of the land to make the virtues of Prohibition neutralize its evils. The duty of the Conference, as I see it, is to make this law of Prohibition enforceable by private example and co-operative effort.

RELIEF AND PENSIONS

I call to your minds that the creation of a Relief Fund was a farsighted enterprise of the Charter members of our Conference. That fund has grown by slow accretions to the impressive sum of over $44,000. It has been conducted on a plane of fine dignity and with becoming respect for those who are enjoying its beneficence. No regret is so keen as the consciousness that its limit cannot be stretched to meet the width of our sympathies for all whom it may serve. It is but natural, therefore, that we guard it carefully, encourage its increase, and at the same time exercise wise caution in its expenditure. We appreciate the unusual zeal of Rabbi Lazaron's Committee on Solicitation of Funds whose collection of over six thousand dollars this year exceeds that of any previous period. The encouraging response of the Congregations indicates their willingness to ease and brighten the paths of those who have served them well and long.

A further method of enlarging the Relief Fund has been brought to my attention by Rabbi Charles J. Freund, who secured an Insurance Policy of one thousand dollars from Mr. Isidor Silverman, of Toledo, to the credit of the Pension Fund. I wish publicly to commend the beautiful tribute which Mr. Silverman thus pays to our rabbinate no less than the zeal of Rabbi Freund, who helped to make it possible.

Here is an opportunity for securing bequests. I believe that many a lawyer in our numerous congregations will avail himself of an equally suggestive chance if the matter were but called to

his attention. I believe that many an insurance agent will gladly suggest it as a worthy expression of tribute to the rabbis, if the matter were but called to his attention. In this wise, without a too optimistic outlook for the immediate and successful operation of a Pension System, we may build up a Relief Endowment Fund more adequate to our increasing needs. Be it constantly held in mind that no matter how well the Pension System may function, there will be always some whose age-limit will bar them from the enjoyment of its privileges. In other words, some measure of Relief will always be necessary. Until the acceptance of a Pension System and until the Conference has made other provisions, the Relief Fund remains a sacred trust to be increased by every legitimate effort on our part. I recommend that, whenever the acceptance of a Pension System necessitates the surrender of our Relief Funds, the Executive Board proceed to the creation of a Relief Endowment Fund to meet such needs as are not contemplated in the said Pension System.

VIII

Another word ought to be spoken. There are congregations who fail to do their duty by their aged rabbis or their families. Our Conference is in a position to indicate to the congregations their solemn duty before the inevitable crisis of death or unforseen mishap removes their rabbi from active service or leaves their families to the tender mercies of others. My feeling is that our Committee on Relief and Pensions is within its moral and religious rights in seeking the financial support of a specific congregation to which a rabbi ministered no less than the aid of nearest relatives, to the end that our allowance, unfortunately meager at best, may more adequately meet the exigencies of the situation.

THE PENSION SYSTEM

At last the time has come for a very earnest consideration of the long awaited Pension program. One such plan is now within our reach. Every member of this Conference has received a pamphlet of suggested procedures, the result of the conscientious labors of the Synagog Pension Commission of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and of the Central Conference

of American Rabbis. Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein and the members of his Commission merit our gratitude for this presentation of a workable basis for the installation of a Pension System. The fact that it is not as extensive and comprehensive as Mr. Jacob Schiff originally projected is a significant element in its present practicability. The failure to secure a Reserve Fund of one or two million dollars ought not stand in the way of our adherence to a more immediate, acceptable and workable plan.

Let us begin modestly within our own Conference Group. The accumulated lessons of experience can be trusted to point the way to a wider extension of its operation. Learning that the Rabbinical Assembly was contemplating a similar System, I arranged a conference between Rabbi Wolsey, Rabbi Max Drob and Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein. The wisdom of taking counsel with others with respect to similar schemes is wholly appreciated. I believe that, at present, for the sake of setting some good scheme in motion, it is best that we develop our own machinery. The maintenance of a Conference and a Union System may be the better part of prudence and practicability. No plan will answer our one hundred per cent exigencies. We ought to adopt the fundamental principle involved. Some of us may be so cared for by generous Congregations as to render entrance into this System an unnecessary obligation. Others of us will find that our advanced age will necessitate the levying of a prohibitive tax against our Congregations, the Union and our salaries. Others of us will suggest some such scheme as operates in Congregation Ansche Chesed of Vicksburg, Miss., whereby every member taxes himself twenty-five cents a month for an emergency Insurance Fund. Plan "Three" more nearly meets the essential conditions of age, cost and practicability than any other thus far presented for our consideration. For the sake of the larger number who will, with the passage of years, come within the circle of its protection, we ought to accept it in principle and urge its adoption upon our congregations.

IX I recommend that the Conference accept the principle of Plan III of the Pension System, and that a developed scheme, elaborated by the Commission on Synagog Pension, be later on referred to us for final action.

PUBLICATIONS

This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Union Prayer Book. I consider this of more than passing significance. One generation of American Israel of the Reform school has been nurtured on it. This has made for harmony in ritual and in practice, in intelligent prayerfulness and spiritual at-home-ness. Every year new congregations adopt it. I rejoice to inform you that very recently Rodeph Shalom Congregation of New York City adopted it. The Union Prayer Book will serve as the rallying and steadying force in our religious life.

Returns from the new edition of the Union Prayer Book, Part II, have justified its revision. Satisfaction that its alterations have not been so radical meets us on all sides. I regret that its sales during the year have not been as large as we had hoped. May I not urge upon the members to convince their congregations of the necessity of its immediate adoption?

The Book of Blessing and Praise has been before the public but one year. It, too, has been gratefully welcomed. Comments indicating methods of improvement have come to us. But the large number of copies on hand has not yet warranted a revision. The expenditures entailed in publishing the Revised Volume II and the Book of Blessing and Praise have by no means been equalled by the receipts. The knowledge that the activities of the Conference depend on the profits from our publications ought to stimulate us in encouraging their widest possible distribution.

The Union Hymnal is in the hands of the Synagog Music Committee for revision and recasting. The work is well in hand. The Committee will be prepared to send its manuscript to the members for their study later in the year.

CONGRATULATIONS

The dedication of new houses of worship and the projection of others still in the process of construction give us cause for congratulation. They are encouraging evidences of the enthusiasm and sacrifice for the cause of Reform Judaism. Several rabbis have been highly complimented upon their completion of twenty-five years of beneficent ministry in one congregation.

Others have won the unique distinction of an election for life. I am certain that I voice the sincerest sentiments of every member of our Conference in thus extending our felicitations to our honored colleagues whose years of devotion and consecration have brought them the esteem and confidence of their congregations and communities. Because of their outstanding merit, the half century of continuous service in Congregation Shaaray T'filla of our worthy colleague, Rev. Dr. F. DeSola Mendes, and the attainment of his eightieth birthday anniversary by Rabbi Mayer Messing, impel our prayers heavenward for many more years of vigorous health and soul-satisfying happiness to these veterans in the vineyard of the Lord.

OUR SPECIAL TASK

Confronting tomorrow calls for no novel experiments. The progress of the Conference in the future is largely to be determined by its success in the past in adhering closely to its intrinsic purpose "to conserve and promote the Jewish religion and to encourage all efforts for the dissemination of the teachings thereof; to advance the cause of Jewish learning; to foster the spirit of fellowship and co-operation among the rabbis and other Jewish scholars of America." My construction of these purposes can be stated in the following four tasks upon which we ought to concentrate and to which we ought to consecrate our best efforts:

(A) Faith and Pride

If the preservation of Judaism stands in bold relief as our paramount duty, religious education is the most convincing instrument at our disposal for guaranteeing it. Whatever be the breadth of religious education, our immediate concern is that it must possess depth and intensity. Whatever else we may attempt, the cultivation of the spirit of faith in God and a childlike relationship to Him is our supreme educational duty. All our schemes break or succeed on the rock of Faith. If our religious course

is but rationalistic and informative, the roots of the soul are starved. Faith is of the essence of creativeness. Let the child use his own vocabulary and imagery, but let us feed the spirit wherewith a child may speak to God. This is the heart of the religious sentiment. Out of it flow the issues of piety and pride. This emphasis should be very pronounced in our public and private worship. The criticism is quite pointed that our worship has gained in decorum and intelligibility what it has lost in warmth and spontaneity. The reading of a prayer is not the same as praying it. "The Place of the Sermon in Public Worship" but echoes the dissatisfaction of the congregation with the emotionally withering and mentally stimulating lecture. The public worship must be more than a lecture tempered by a Kaddish.

(*B*) *Religious Education*

Upon this enduring basis your Commission on Religious Education has formulated a Curriculum. Many minds and many meetings have entered into its various conclusions. A copy of the Curriculum was sent to you. Numerous and helpful suggestions and criticisms have been recently incorporated in it, so that the Curriculum represents the best thought and the ripest results in Jewish religious education as conceived by the membership of our Conference. The pedagogic ability of Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, Educational Director of the Department of Synagog and School Extension, has been heavily drawn upon. The time has come for the introduction of this Curriculum into our religious schools with the least disturbance of conditions peculiar to each school. If such introduction must be done gradually, extending over a course of years, there will, doubtless, come an increasing appreciation of its inherent merits. But one thing is eminently desirable. Give it a fair trial! Bear in mind also that it carries the unanimous judgment of our Commission that at least one week day be sought for additional instruction. Text Books are in process of preparation; teachers' training courses will soon be ready for distribution; a thorough study of religious educational conditions in the United States has been made, and

will be read to you. The Religious Education Day promises to be stimulating and fruitful. All in all, you will agree with me that your Commission has done a conscientious, constructive and meritorious piece of work, whose ultimate success lies in your enthusiastic support and application. I congratulate it heartily upon this performance, and I hope that there will be no faltering and no abatement of scholarly zeal until the completion of adequate text books and the preparation of Normal and High School Departments put the crown of achievement upon its consecrated labors.

In this connection it is but proper that I call your attention, though such a reference may appear gratuitous, to the projected *Young People's Encyclopedia,* by Dr. Isidor Singer. The triumphant publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia warrants the belief that an equal success awaits the Juniors' *Encyclopedia,* and there will be thus available for our young people, in religious schools and in Universities, an authoritative wealth of information for their instruction and guidance. I commend this enterprise to your moral encouragement and financial support.

I cannot leave this subject without a reference to the great loss which our Conference, American Israel and the field of Jewish Education have sustained in the Call Homeward of our beloved Henry Berkowitz. His identification with our Conference was intimate. His scholarly contributions and participation in all discussions laid us under heavy tribute to him. His life was a radiating benediction. He added measurably to the prestige and stature of the American rabbi. Every one of us has a sense of personal bereavement. We extend to his devoted wife and children the tender solicitude and the affectionate sympathy of our Conference.

(C) The Prophetic Office of the Synagog

Our Conference has a Social Program. It is a clear statement of the industrial and social problems of our complex American life. Constantly do inquiries come to our desk for copies thereof. Evidently, then, the declaration of the Conference is

winning public recognition. The purpose of our Social Program is to have it realized in practical living. It is our message to our laymen of what we believe is the prophetic charge of the modern rabbi. Some such thought lies behind your resolution to ask the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to find a place on its program next January for a paper on "Social Justice." Correspondence with Mr. Charles Shohl brings his willingness to call the timely attention of the Program Committee of the Union to this request.

Society's challenge to the Church and the Synagog is to realize the social vision which appears on the horizon. Religion to be socially minded must be socially dynamic. Moses in Egypt and Amos at Bethel tied up our religion to a program of social-mindedness. Jewish ideals have always rung the changes on the betterment of the group. Despite our strong individualism, our teachings have never hinged on the question: "What shall I do to be saved?" The Jew enters the arena of social betterment with an amazingly fine equipment of prophetic fervor, principles and historic experiences. By the very logic of his past, he ought to be in the vanguard of the workers for the amelioration of the race. The prophets of the Bible hand over the glowing torch of Justice for him to grasp, and turn upon the dark corners, the individual dislocations, the economic maladjustments, the stupidity and cupidity that rob man of his right and enjoyment.

I cannot interpret the controversies in the Church or the alienation of the masses from its authority as signs of disintegration. To me they are symptoms of a quickening sense that ought to reclaim organized religion. The disaffections, the aspirations and the visions of youth may be the welling up of religious emotions trying to be articulate and expend themselves in idealistic ventures. Religion must offer youth an opportunity for self-expression and activity. Their religious experiences may not be creedally adjectived. They may lose themselves in pompous dreams, or castles in the air, or philanthropic or economic Utopias. They ought to find their sanity, their practical outlet, their fervid interpretation in the sanction and within the *sanctum* of Re-

ligion. Thousands of high-spirited Jewish young men and women are waiting for the Synagog to bid them welcome, and offer them food for the soul, and ennobling services for humanity to perform! They want to serve, even though they have forgotten how to pray to the God of their fathers.

The congregations to which we minister are in large measure composed of employers of labor. Yet no congregation has a courageous social justice committee. The congregation will listen occasionally to its rabbi's sermon or lecture on some phase of the economic struggle. It will occasionally join with another organization in an expression of approval or condemnation of a measure which has already aroused public opinion. But Jewish leadership in social justice is not yet a congregational glory. The burden of the young men and women of Israel who see visions and have dreams has not yet borne in upon us with dramatic earnestness and sincerity. I am anxious to emphasize the point of view that Social Justice calls to Judaism not only in the interests of the wage-earner, but also in the interests of the religious rehabilitation of our youth.

The Prophetic office of the Synagog languishes. The Conference, having adopted a social program, has no greater task than to direct Judaism and the obligations of religion into the expanding life-experience of the Jew, with the conviction firmly held that the coming of the Kingdom of God is contingent upon the acceptance of the authority and the love for the God of the Kingdom.

(*D*) *Co-operation*

There is one further phase of our work which the Conference ought to develop. Many national organizations invite our assistance. So numerous are the calls for co-operation that one is tempted to draw the line between those causes which fall necessarily within the circle of our religious recognition and those, however agreeable, which scarcely touch the rim of our interests. I do not wish our Conference to be used as a convenient spade for

others' vainglorious digging. Taken in the large, our relationship to many national and Christian groups has been fraternal, mutual and effective.

Aside from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, we have had very little commerce with other Jewish organizations. There are problems in American Israel that need for their solution a united Israel. We need a unity based on religion. Orthodox and Reform Seminaries ought not be kept apart by theological barriers. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the United Synagog have a constructive opportunity that transcends their specific self-imposed bounds of influence. We are all coming to a common understanding that the *Congregation* is the authoritative unit in our Jewish life. The Synagog is greater than any congregation or group of congregations. The Synagog as the repository of the Law, the Prophets and our social heritage is the bond that ties us together. Its hopes, its fears, its triumphs, its sorrows, strike responsive chords in all of us.

We have vetoed the wisdom or necessity of an American Jewish Congress, but we have not said that we can not and ought not be mutually helpful on questions of Marriage and Divorce, Jewish Student Welfare at Universities, Prohibition, Social Justice, the Sabbath, Religious Education and our American loyalties. I leave this great question hanging in the air by a thread. I am not trying to twine the thread into a rope by strands of recommendations. I am only thinking out loud, and pouring forth in more or less restrained and coherent language the hopes of my heart for unity in the Synagog of America. Am I too optimistic in trusting that some day representatives of the Rabbinical Assembly may meet with us, and *vice versa?* Is it but the baseless fabric of a dream to find the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convening with the United Synagog to discuss problems that affect the welfare of Israel? Be it so. The Central Conference of American Rabbis can yet take the lead in welding the rabbis of the land into a stronger, finer religious fellowship!

CONCLUSION

I close this message with the Talmud's (Baba Kamah 97b) statement that Abraham, our father, had a מטבע, a seal, depicting an aged couple on one side, and a youth with a maiden on the other. This seal, like Lessing's ring, has come down through the ages. To Reform Judaism it symbolizes the intimate tie that binds old age with vigorous youth, the Past with the Present, and both with the promising future. To the aged couple, redolent with the fragrance of a noble tradition, we pay our due meed of affection and homage. To the youth and the maiden, whose deathless love weaves the charm of the ever-acted drama of life; to the youth and the maiden, symbol of the marriage of Israel to the Torah; to the youth and the maiden, the divine source of the ever recurrent childhood and youth and maturity of Jewish idealism under the grace of God we turn for our vision of progressive faith and hope and devotion.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON,
President.

B

TORAH IN THE LIFE OF ISRAEL—CONFERENCE LECTURE

JOSEPH RAUCH

The principles underlying modern Reform Judaism are not new. Change and adaptation are easily and clearly discernible in every age of Judaism's unfoldment. What Heraclitus of Ephesus predicated of nature, that the fundamental and uniform fact about her is constant change, the religious genius of Israel applied to our faith centuries before the Greek philosopher was born. There are distinctions that differentiate the Judaism of pre-prophetic from prophetic days. The Mosaic interpretation of our faith is not the same as that of the prophets, and Talmud and Bible are not of one mind in many of the teachings that at one time, or another, were vital to the life of our religion. A living, historic faith as is ours cannot stand still. Those in our midst who attempted to stay progress while all around them was moving onward ceased to play an important part in the religious life of Israel. The constant adding, abrogating and modifying of rites and interpretations of Judaism in different ages and places is its most pronounced historic characteristic. If by Reform we understand religious and spiritual adaptation and by orthodoxy the principle of standing still, then we are the lineal descendants of those to whom Judaism owes both life and virility. For let us bear in mind that the injunction ועשו סיג לתורה has been as often helped and observed in removing an outgrown institution as in calling into existence a new rite.

But in the midst of all this flux certain doctrines and ideals have stood out clothed with a spiritual immortality. They have been blessings everywhere. Their grandeur and sublimity are

independent of time and place and their universality in a literal sense world embracing. Our conception of God Almighty, our ethics, our interpretation of the sanctity of life, our beliefs in what is the ultimate destiny of the individual and the human family have transcended everything that other peoples have held and taught about them. The genius that Israel has manifested in these has given him his unique position in the world. He is still the greatest inventor, or shall we say discoverer, of how to think in terms of divinity and how to live with ethical monotheism as the guiding principle. In this, and in this sense alone is he a ממלכת כהנים and a עם סגולה a people specially chosen, because uniquely and divinely endowed, for a sacred, priestly service. Our whole history and religious experience have only meaning and purpose when read in terms of this function, both self chosen and divinely imposed. "Ye are my witnesses, said the Lord, and My servant whom I have chosen. That ye may know and believe Me, and understand that I am He. Before Me there was no God formed, neither shall any be after Me."

Of Jewish religious movements ours is not only the latest but the youngest. A century is but a brief period in Judaism's experience. When we consider the time that the biblical, the talmudic and post-talmudic eras required to adjust themselves to the new needs of Israel, first in Palestine and then in the Diaspora, we shall understand and appreciate that to expect of Reform Judaism in the United States to have fulfilled all the hopes that the founders postulated is to look for the miraculous. Progress and adaptation in religion are slow. They deal with beliefs, sentiments and observances deeply rooted in the human heart. They cannot be wrenched out rudely and abruptly. This is the more true of a people that has looked upon its religion as the most dearly beloved of all its possessions and accomplishments. Recognizing, as we always did in theory, that there were gradations of importance both in the beliefs and practices that made up the content of Judaism, for practical purposes we envisaged them all with like sacredness and summed up our every day attitude to them in the doctrine והיה זהיר במצוה קלה כבחמרה This had been in force for centuries and not only reflected a deep inner feeling, but was aided from without by hostility

towards our people and a militant enmity towards our faith. Even so brilliant and philosophic a genius as Maimonides who did not hesitate to say that the sacrificial cult was only a means to an end, a necessary scaffold for the construction of the great edifice of Judaism, continued to pray for the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem with all its ancient ritual. Religious practice invariably follows the laws of psychology rather than those of cold logic.

But a time came when men felt the need of harmonizing the beliefs and practices of historic Judaism with the religious Weltanschanung of our age. Herein lies the cause and the beginning of Reform Judaism. The grand purpose behind the movement was to strengthen our faith, and the all important aim to continue the indissoluble union between Jew and Judaism. It was the repetition and the re-enacting of the ideal of Jochanan b. Zakkai. It differed only in method, not in the end sought. All honor and glory to the sturdy and far-seeing men who had not only the courage but the great scholarship and deep faith to lead us out from the maze of outgrown ideas and practices and to place before us again the essential truths of our faith by which alone we could hope to continue in religious virility. We today are the living witnesses to the truth of their vision and the unprecedented growth of Reform Judaism is an inspiring proof that the spirit of God directed their thoughts and actions.

While the origin of Reform Judaism was in Germany its growth and strength are distinctly American. It was here that the teachings of our great liberals from the old world found a favorable environment in which to take deep root and blossom and become a blessing to hundreds of thousands. The trend of our religious liberalism is closely akin to the political liberalism of the United States. Both were born in the minds of the great spirits of Europe, but neither could find its fullest self-expression until transplanted in the new world. Just as political democracy reached heights here unattained by any other people of the old world, so Reform Judaism grew in America as it has not grown in any other country and as America is today the most potent single political influence among the nations of

the earth, likewise is our Reform movement affecting in tone and spirit the entire Jewish religious community in America. Even those of our co-religionists who shy at our name and now and then appear as the active friends of the opposition frequently adopt some of our principles and much of our religious *modus vivendi*. Despite our shortcomings they realize, as we did a little over a century ago, that Jewish religious life and permanence are with us. The period of strife and antagonism has all but disappeared and is gradually giving way to co-operation and appreciation.

It is fitting that on an occasion such as this we take stock of what American Israel has accomplished in, and through Reform Judaism in the century that is being completed. The nature of our work and the character of our aims are such that they do not lend themselves readily to statistical tabulations. If we make use of them at all, it is only to indicate the frame work of our spiritual structure and to call attention to the physical means we have called into existence to house spiritual aims that are, and must ever be our end. Looking back to 1824 when the first reform congregation was organized in Charleston, S. C., The Reform Society of Israelities, and comparing it with The Union of American Hebrew Congregations comprising nearly three hundred congregations, the very large ones among them counting the membership in numbers beyond the thousand mark and the smallest of them considerably larger and infinitely better equipped to do its religious work than was the pioneer Charleston congregation a century ago, who among us is there that is not moved in prayerful gratitude to say קטנתי מכל החסדים ומכל האמת אשר עשית את עבדך כי במקלי עברתי את הירדן הזה ועתה הייתי לשנימחנות.

Have we not here the ever recurring miracle of Israel's religious experience? Who dared hope for such a result? Yet as truly as the great temple in Jerusalem had its foundation in the frail tabernacle of the wilderness and was a monument to the special task and mission of our people, so our present status and organization are encouraging testimony that at heart religion, Judaism, is still the vital concern of the Jew. We are not always aware of this and there come to us now and then

discouraging experiences that for the moment make us doubt whether the rank and file of our co-religionists are conscious of their religious task—their supreme duty in life. It is therefore both cheering and encouraging that on the whole Reform Judaism has grown and has attracted our people in this land by the hundreds of thousands. And we know from our history that as long as our people are anchored to their sanctuaries they never completely forget their historic mission. Our weakness comes only through losses and apostacy. Hillel's warning to his generation אל תפרוש מן הצבור was based on keen historic observation. Our experience in the last two thousand years is indisputable proof that we can survive every difficulty and hardship except divorcement of our people from their religious institutions. The Jew that attempts to live apart from the general stream of Jewish life is lost to us. Reform Judaism created a new cohesive force for our people and our faith. In this it has rendered a great spiritual service to its past heritage and created new potentialities for our ideals.

We have done more than this. We have created a spiritual center to house the treasures of Israel's mind and soul and where our religious leaders and teachers are trained in the service of God and are taught how to lead our people in the light of historic continuity of Judaism's eternal verities and at the same time keep abreast with the idealism and enlightenment of our age. Intellect and faith have been made to go hand in hand in the training of our rabbinate. Our principle here has not been a new contribution, for an older generation already recognized that השכל והדעת שני מאורות but in no group and in no age of Jewish life was this applied to the public teachings and practices of Judaism as in the Reform Judaism of our day. We repeated here an experience as old as our history. Among the earliest commands given to Israel immediately after he was dedicated to the service of God was ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם The sanctuary was to be his constant rallying place. All else was more or less indispensible, but not the ark, the tabernacle and the priests and Levites that were to perform the religious ministrations and teach the people how to serve God. Without these no period of our career is conceivable. The tabernacle

in the wilderness, the Temple in Jerusalem, the talmudic schools and synagogs in the early diaspora and the yeshiboth and bote hamidrashim during the middle ages and reaching to our own day, embodied the best and most distinct features of our life and endeavors. Wherever our people went they carried these with them. They knew that in them alone lay life and meaning for them. Even in the darkest ages, when all about them was chaos and confusion, when everything was pointing to hopelessness and despair and no ray of hope seemed to penetrate the black clouds over them, they never doubted that as long as they cherished Torah and were cultivating its study and applying the results to their life, redemption would come to them. No religious conviction was more deep-seated in the religious beliefs of our ancestors than the one contained in the words עץ חיים היא למחזיקים בה Every age in which they lived was proof of this.

In founding the Hebrew Union College, liberal American Israel, through its most far-seeing and constructive religious genius, followed a sacred and time-honored precedent. It was our ark and tabernacle and like its historic predecessors it was most humble in origin. But the spirit and vision were there, the spirit that overcame obstacles and the vision that saw the possibilities of American Judaism. Above all it contained the inspiring personality of Isaac M. Wise, the man who in a lifetime was instrumental in calling into existence nearly all the men and forces that have made American Reform Judaism the power and glory that it is. One is at a loss to explain how this one man did what we know he achieved. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing him and seeing him at work, teaching, leading and inspiring, took all this as a matter of course. The word impossible was not in his vocabulary of action. The failures of others spelled no discouragement for him and obstacles were only added inducements for more vigorous efforts. We took it for granted that he could not fail. What were hopes and ideals in other early reformers became realities under the magic touch of this great leader and builder.

Tempting as it is to dwell on the many and valuable services he rendered our cause along practical and needed lines,

we shall touch on just one, the creation of an American rabbinate to serve the needs of liberal American Israel. He realized the differences and the difficulties existing between an American congregation and a rabbi trained in the old world. Probably just because he himself was by birth and education a product of Europe and was dealing with people who were living in an environment distinctly American he appreciated more keenly that the spiritual leaders and the people they were to serve must not only be one in the possession of a common past, but must be alike and identical in all the conditions and influences of the environment in which they were living. He was the first to conceive the idea of an American rabbinical seminary and to call it into existence. Our Hebrew Union College with its incalculable and ever-growing service to American Israel is of single monuments his greatest contribution to us and the most far-reaching institution he has bequeathed to our generation. He saw clearly that unless men were trained to carry the message of our interpretation of Judaism to the various communities of our land the Reform movement would not grow. He acted on the well-known principle והעמידו תלמידים הרבה the only method by which Judaism has been able to maintain itself. Here, as in other instances, he was both pioneer and master builder. We can pay no greater tribute to the memory of Isaac M. Wise than by saying that he laid the foundations for the institutions by which our Reform movement in America was to become self-sustaining. He is the Jochanan b. Zakkai of our generation.

The first century of the Reform movement in this country has done notable things. It compares favorably with other ages, even though it may not measure up to some of the golden spiritual epochs of our history. It had the gift of seeing clearly and acting courageously. It was not lacking in earnest zeal for the weal of Judaism. It produced the leader to show us the way in which we should walk and called into being the instrumentalities by which we should do our work. It was a period of drafting plans, laying foundations, and training workmen for the labor to be done. It also created an environment and atmosphere favorable for the progress of Reform. As a period of preparation it has fulfilled our expectation.

But Judaism needs more, much more, than this. Its greatest strength lies not in its leaders, in the institutions they build and direct, the visions they see and the ideals and doctrines they preach, but is to be found only when the knowledge of the Lord is embedded in the hearts of our people and when all their acts are motivated by a consciousness of and devotion to Judaism. תלמוד תורה כנגד כולם must continue to remain our ideal.

This is our imperative task today. Many of our people are in danger of becoming estranged both to the word of God and to our spiritual treasures. We have too large a number in our midst whose attachment to us rests on little more than birth and inertia. For too long a time have we taken it for granted that we shall hold the coming generations of American Israel to the faith of our fathers irrespective of the kind of religious training we give them. We were so bent on making Judaism rational and attractive to the grown-ups and the non-Jews about us that we have all but neglected our children. In an unconscious, but telling way, this may be seen in type of architecture and character of building of every Temple of a former generation. Practically all attention was given to the place of service and sermon and little, if any, to the religious school room. The basement was quite good enough for the Sunday School. We overlooked that the historic synagog, the impregnable fortress that withstood all attacks and never failed to give us security and protection was primarily a בית המדרש a place that gave to teaching Judaism the place of honor. I know that of late years the larger congregations have materially improved the physical conditions of our school equipment, but we are yet to educate our people that a trained religious instructor for those on whom the future of Judaism rests is at least as essential as a trained singer in our choirs, and that religious education is deserving of, and is entitled to, the same thoughtful consideration and generous response as our philanthropies. Feeding the mind and enriching the religious spirit are not less important than nourishing the body. We are not today, nor have we ever been, unconscious, or unappreciative, of the high place and diligent practice that גמילות חסדים, הכנסת אורחים and בקור חולים have in the scheme of Jewish life. They were postulated by the rabbis

and practised by our people centuries before our Federations and the schools of Social Service were formed. To those acquainted with the teachings of Judaism they are not new cults but very old and time honored rites. Social service is not Judaism, it is one of its by-products, one of the minor luminaries in the firmament of our faith נר מצוה ותורה אור. Philanthropy is but a lamp alongside the bright light of the Torah. If Reform Judaism is to hold its own and be made permanently vital, if it is to mean to Israel what biblical and talmudic Judaism meant in days gone by we shall have to stress Torah in our temples and religious schools more than we have in the past. כי הם חיינו ואורך ימינו ובהם והגה יומם ולילה Our life, our spiritual strength and endurance are in the teachings of Torah and to them we must give our constant and diligent devotion.

In addition to a change of attitude towards the whole problem of religious education we must create a complete pedagogical literature, a literature that shall not only tell the history of our people, set forth the lofty ethical principles of our prophets, but one that shall breathe the inspirational fervor and the devotional spirit of the psalmists. We have done well to stress prophetic Judaism, but the Judaism of the psalmists with its deep faith, its abiding trust, its personal longing after God, must receive the same attention. I know the difficulties in the way of attaining this but these must not be permitted to blind us to what should be our aim. Dr. Schechter called our attention to this crying need a few years ago when he said, "We have as yet no Jewish history fit to place in the hands of the teacher or pupil, no readers for the different grades, and no commentary to the Bible written in a Jewish spirit. We must have a whole series of primers and readers and text books and histories, extending at least over a course of eight grades". As a further difficulty we have too many indifferent, and even dejudaised homes in which our children live. These homes are our silent and passive opposition. We rarely have an opportunity to enter them and rekindle the light of Judaism, or stir the dying embers of faith and reverence. But we may bring our religious message to them through their children. Through the young we may lead them back to our synagogs, to our people and to our God.

But before these can become messengers of God we must infuse them with the spirit of God. The words of Maimonides on this subject are as valid today as they were when he uttered them, "The guarantee for the survival of Judaism is the continuance of the knowledge of God's Torah and the acquaintance with His word among us."

The need is becoming more and more recognized by us every day. Our Commission on Jewish Religious Education is a step in the right direction. We have reason to believe that in due time it will find the men that can produce this literature and strengthen the one weak and vulnerable spot in the Reform movement of American Israel. Israel has yet never failed to meet every demand that any age required for the strengthening of Judaism and he will not be found wanting in our day.

What we have been able to do in the last fifty years along the lines of Jewish literature and scholarship should be an encouraging omen of what we can and will do. The work of the American Jewish Historical Society, of the American Jewish Publication Society and the monumental Jewish Encyclopaedia attest in no uncertain terms to the literary, cultural and spiritual potentialities of American Israel. Each came into being as an answer to a need that was felt along distinct Jewish and religious lines. But, curiously enough, here as in nearly everything else undertaken by American Israel attention and consideration were given to the adults. With a few negligible exceptions the young were entirely overlooked. It occurred to no one that essential as it was to look after the requirements of the manhood and womanhood of our people along the lines of Jewishness, it was infinitely more necessary to provide for the Jewish religious needs of our childhood and youth. We feel this omission keenly today and our services in the future in the work of the vineyard of the Lord will be determined largely, if not indeed entirely, by our efforts in this field. All the evils and difficulties that beset our people in the lands they inhabit will not prevail against them as long as study of Torah is not neglected in their midst. "Would you destroy the Jews", is the reply of the wise Oenomaus of Gadore to Israel's foes, "you must first destroy their synagogs and schools, for while the voice of their children con-

tinue to chirp in the schools, and they are taught the word of God, all the world will not prevail against them".

The battle for the principles of Reform Judaism has been fought and won. This has been the outstanding contribution of Reform Judaism of the last century. Our present duty is to make the victory permanent by dedicating our children to it in the spirit of Torah. No matter what other duties we may have to perform, nor how pressing and multitudinous the demands upon us, religious education of our youth must again become our chief concern, as this is, and has ever been, our most sacred obligation from the day we stood at Sinai and dedicated ourselves to the worship and service of the Most High. We must resolve to follow Rabbi Nehoröi's ideal of religious education: "I leave alone all the crafts—all the manual occupations —and teach my son only Torah; for all crafts stand a man in good stead only in his youth, in the days of his strength, but if he become sick, or find himself in danger, or have to meet serious trials, and can no longer work, he might die in time of famine. But how different in the case of the study of Torah. It brings a man honor and guards him from all danger in his youth, while it gives him a noble purpose and hope in his old age. Referring to his youth, Holy Writ says: 'They that hope in the Lord, shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not be faint'. As regards man's old age Scripture says, 'They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be full of sap and richness' ".

C.

EGYPT OR CANAAN—WHICH?—CONFERENCE SERMON

Samuel Koch

Text: הלוא טוב לנו שוב מצרימה Were it not better for us to return to Egypt? (Numbers, 14, 3.)

I.

Little need to amplify the context here. The twelve ראשי בני ישראל each representing a tribe in Israel, had just returned from reconnoitering the land of Canaan. They were agreed in their report to Moses and Aaron and the tribes that the land was good and fat; and the clusters of grapes and the figs and the pomegranates were proof of that. They were agreed, too, that the cities were great and well fortified, and that the people within Canaan and surrounding it, were many and strong, and that even the *Anakim* were there.

But a preponderating majority of the men—ten of the twelve—insisted that the tribes of Israel could not prevail over a people in whose eyes the tribes seemed as grasshoppers, and who were so numerous and strong, so well fortified and with resources so ample.

The insistence of the ten brought consternation to the children of Israel. "Would that we might die in the wilderness, now," they exclaimed. "Wherefore doth the Lord bring us to yonder land to die by the sword?" "Wherefore should our wives and children become as prey?" Their indignation knew no bounds. Even Moses would they stone. הלוא טוב לנו שוב מצרימה they exclaimed, in their vehemence and heat.

Hitherto, the children of Israel stood by silently and listlessly whilst God fought for them. ה' ילחם לכם ואתם תחרשון

Moses and Aaron, unassisted, and at the cost of much weariness and tribulation, had wrested freedom for them from an unwilling Pharaoh. God had led them unscathed through the Red sea. They had yet to learn that God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines—ולא נחם דרך ארץ פלשתים and for no other reason than that it was near, כי קרוב הוא. The round about way of toil and trouble is the only road to victory. Confidence, self-reliance, the will-to-do, come only from a consciousness of worthiness, from the exhiliration of achievement. Indolence and lassitude, indifference and shiftlessness win no spurs. God speaks to man only when man speaks to God. Initiative only comes from the burning bush that lights the way to progress. When God saw that Moses turned aside to see, then and then only did God speak to him. ויאר אלהים כי סר לראות ויקרא אליו Only the men who transmute adversity into precious jewels, and convert obstacles into stepping stones get to the land flowing with milk and honey. Nothing is got for nothing. How can a people without a thought of self-exertion, and relying for success in invasion on the activities of others, do aught but blanch when foes advance, and mutter forthwith: הלוא טוב לנו שוב מצרימה

Egypt is symbolic of the fleshpots. It suggests a low plane of existence. One may have to make bricks without straw, to be sure, but one incurs no risk of life and limb, of wife and child. There are no *Anakim* to overcome and no fortified cities to lay low. One's food is sure. וישמן ישורון ויבעט Yeshurun waxeth fat with oxen, no timorous conscience to disturb the ponderous frame, no restless brain to sickly o'er the pale cast of thought, no aspiration to stimulate with divine discontent. A placid bestiality, an unmitigated fleshiness, the satisfaction and peace that mediocrity confer—such is Egypt.

Fortunately for Israel, there was a minority report. Not back to Egypt, but forward to Canaan was the demand of Caleb and Joshua. If only Israel dare, he shall not die. If Israel rebel not against God, if he but show resolution, then shall his be the land of milk and honey. The *Anakim* and the fortified places shall prove to be shadows with no substance in them. They

shall be as bread for the children of Israel to eat. The will-to-do makes pigmies of formidable obstacles. Character is evolved through service. Every fortified place laid low, be it of stone, or vicious habit, or exaggerated selfishness or pronounced meanness, becomes forthwith a ladder from whose rungs one beholds ampler vistas of righteousness and duty and God.

The world remembers Caleb and Joshua. But who of us can name the majority ten? History is the record of the convictional few. The path of progress is blazed by minorities. Differences, genuine—not affected, not begot of a deliberate effort at being peculiar, not compelled by the spirit of opposition—honest differences, verily, represent the inevitableness of a personality seeking to realize itself in freedom. The men who dare to be themselves have been touched by the consecrated rod of permanence and greatness. Minorities are the original impulse whence come the spontaneous variations, which by dint of repetition, enable the race to acquire characteristics that are new, thereby multiplying the potentialities of experience and enriching the world. The Calebs and Joshuas are the intrepid spirits of adventure, the dauntless pathfinders, who make it impossible for the race ever to return to Egypt.

II.

Colleagues, we are noting this week the centenary of the establishment of Liberal Judaism in America. Plainly, Jewish religious liberalism in America represents the vision of the few. We are mindful, this hour, of the courageous spirits who were not daunted by the fortified towns or the multitudinous *Anakim*, but who pushed doggedly on into Canaan. How innumerable the Jews in America their boldness saved to Judaism, men shall never know! May their translated spirits consecrate us with unfaltering devotion to the cause their prescience founded so securely! Would that we realized that eternal vigilance is the price of the continued possession of Canaan! Every Canaan attained becomes at once a potential Egypt. Canaan is less a place, a fact, a thing, than an attitude, an experience, an interpretation of life, a philosophy of existence. Forever, must Liberalism be on the

way but never here. Liberals arrive only to be arriving. And so the Jewish Liberalism that has intrenched itself in the United States must needs recognize that not all the cities have been laid low, nor the *Anakim* completely annihilated. Indeed, the American Judaism of which we are wont to speak, is not yet made, but is still in the making. The present hour is most auspicious. Restrictive immigration is Liberal Judaism's opportunity. The freedom of influx hitherto enjoyed by our brethren, fashioned by a different experience and environment, was so great as to check the free play of the Judaism moulded by the ideals prevailing in America. Not in ghoulish and triumphant glee is this noted. Gladly would Liberal Judaism risk encountering even more *Anakim,* and cities even more securely fortified, if thereby the gate might be kept open for its persecuted brethren. But the law as representing the will of the majority of citizens in the United States is a barrier across the path. Good citizenship is good Judaism. דינא דמלכותא דינא Good Judaism is good citizenship. The Jew is not a law-breaker; nor may he connive at the breaking of the law even to save himself. The Jew knows full well that God is in His heavens. Never yet has the sun set in one place when, for him, it did not rise in another. Not in vindictive satisfaction, therefore, is the check to Jewish conservatism in the United States noted, but that Liberal Judaism, staunchly believing in the rightness of its view, may itself not lose Canaan through inadvertence.

An evaluation of Liberal Judaism in the United States by gifted colleagues is part of the program of the week. In all fairness, I would not poach upon their preserves. Yet the reaction of every member of the Conference must needs be unique in some detail in consonance with the personal equation; and the differences in themselves may constitute the best analysis.

If Liberal Judaism would capture as speedily as possible the Canaan next ahead, then should liberal Jews map out their campaign years in advance, and by insistent iteration in their numerous citadels and by unfaltering alertness move toward the objectives, slowly, possibly, but irresistably until in the distant time a taste of the milk and honey in the land where the figs and pomegranates grow prolifically may be vouchsafed them.

Three of the objectives, as it seems to me—and I would elaborate them only hastily—are these:

A.—An insistence on Sabbath Observance.

B.—An identification of Judaism with the whole of life.

C.—The elaboration of a device which shall do for Chanukkah what the Confirmation ceremony has done for Shabuoth.

A—Though I may plead for a Sabbath morning observance, and should be loath to dispense with it, yet we must needs realize that the economic situation alone makes it impossible for all too many men and women to participate in it. Sunday morning services, if supplementary, may be tolerated, but, as I think, they are usually gratuitous and superfluous, and, as it appears, of gradually waning interest to Jews. Liberal Judaism should set itself four square for a Sabbath evening observance, say at eight o'clock. Friday nights, at home or else at Temple—this should be our insistence. On that sacred night no games, no parties, no visits, no theatres! To set aside Friday night for Temple worship should be as easy as reserving, say, Saturday night for vaudeville. And if this appeal were general and earnest and insistent, soon would Jewish laymen take heed as they never will whilst rabbis, separated by interminable distances, working independently and unrelatedly, and so lacking necessarily the momentum persuasive with laymen, that goes with a Conference *program* and teamwork—are compelled to urge their conviction as a voice crying in the wilderness.

B—The threefold function of the synagog of old is witness to the original identification of Judaism with life. The Temple Center represents the renascence of an efficient tradition. The Temple Players, the Athletic Council, the Dance Coterie, Men's Clubs, Women's Auxiliaries—all are functioning under the aegis of the Synagog. But where are the synagogal philanthropies? Where are the Federations of Synagogal Welfare Agencies? Enough of the blandishments of social workers whose chief function seems to be to work Israel! Who tell of the unique privilege the synagog enjoys in being looked to for inspiration for good works! As if a theology which did not eventuate in good deeds were aught but piffle. The test of impression is expression. Social

welfare represents applied Judaism. Foregoing the many reasons, Liberal Judaism, in brief, should insist on putting Jewish philanthropy back in the synagog. But united effort alone promises reasonable success.

C—The greatest disintegrating force in American Jewish life, as I see it, is the Public School. And yet none more loyal to the institution than the Jew. Nor is it conceivable that the Jew in America would ever seek to have it otherwise. The especially exasperating experience is the Christmas time. To minimize the undermining influence of the Christmas week in Jewish homes is impotence or blindness or hypocrisy. To indulge Christmas trees in Jewish homes under a specious latitudinarianism is craven. To urge that Jewish children be so indoctrinated that, with priggish precocity, they shall refuse the joy or throttle the desire for the Christmas tree is inane and generally impracticable. It is high time and good pedagogy to provide a substitute. Let us elaborate the Chanukkah menorah without destroying its identity. This and the gifts and the candles and much else is Jewish. In the Chanukkah tradition, we have a treasure-trove laden with unimagined possibilities for poetic glamor and symbolism and folk lore, psychologically potent for Jewish childhood and youth. *Chriselt es sich?* Imitation be it? Let a mere reference to the history of the Confirmation ceremony—less inherently Jewish in origin than the machinery the Chanukkah affords—be indicative of the feasibility of the substitute.

An insistent emphasis on Sabbath Eve observance; Jewish welfare agencies in synagogs and, therefore, under the guidance of individuals with a Jewish consciousness and a love of our precious faith; a substitute for Christmas trees in Jewish homes—why not? To be sure, the road is covered with snares and pitfalls. The mountains and the crevices in the rocks are infested with sicarii treacherously lying in wait for the opportune moment for the dagger's thrust; stronger than ever are the fortresses; the *Anakim*, seasoned, adroit, resourceful, are more terrible than ever. But in that direction Canaan lies. הלא טוב לנו שוב מצרימה In spite of it all, we shall not turn back to Egypt.

III.

As a matter of fact, colleagues, all Jews are liberals. Judaism is the faith of the open-minded, the mentally alert, the inevitably progressive. In Judaism, reason runs not counter to belief, nor is truth afraid of science. In the procession of the religions and the religionists of the world, the Jew and Judaism are in the van. Egypt and Canaan are relative terms. In Judaism, there are only differences in degrees of liberalism. There are orthodox Liberals, conservative Liberals, liberal Liberals. By license of speech only, the less liberal are the not-liberal; the most liberal are the liberal. Liberal Judaism in the United States, by reason of its philosophy and its principles represents the Jews furthest removed from Egypt. The members of this Conference are the leaders of the liberals. In the *Parasha,* not Joshua and Caleb, the messengers of the liberals, were singled out for stoning by the mob, but Moses and Aaron, the leaders of the Liberals. The man who stands by his colors pays the price. Fealty to conviction, steadfastness to principles, these intimations of moral strength demand sacrifice of the spirit and immolation of the flesh. O may we, leaders in Jewish liberalism, recognize that it is part of the very nature of things for liberalism to row up stream, and may our courage mount with the occasion. How can the more perfect time be ahead, and man forever move toward it, as Judaism maintains, if liberalism be doomed to failure?

Indeed, to be a rabbi in Israel has its compensations. The identity, the personality, the character of Israel is spiritual. Ideals, aspirations, experiences, traditions, hopes—these are of the life of Israel. To the extent that Israel becomes possessed of these, doth Egypt lie behind. The sureness and the rapidity with which Israel moves forward toward Canaan is a measure of the abiding faith and unremitting toil of the Moseses and Aarons. O may none of Egypt vitiate the integrity of our efforts. Vibrantly alive, indomitable, eager, may it ever be vouchsafed us so to sense the destiny of Israel, that Canaan shall ever lure on! Amen.

D

MEMORIAL ADDRESS IN MEMORY OF HENRY BERKOWITZ

HARRY W. ETTELSON

Oftentimes, in the balminess of ripe autumn days, when the sun has already set, there will still linger on a richly tinted afterglow, suffusing the sky with soft radiance and giving even to the lengthening twilight shadows a luminous quality. At such an hour we feel not so much a sense of sadness that the day is over and ended as we feel a mood of uplift and thankfulness that there has been, indeed, such a day at all,—a whole rare Indian Summer day of mellow brightness and genial warmth,—a day, redolent of ripened fruit and all other goodly harvest bounties.

Even so is it with us at this Memorial Service in tribute to Henry Berkowitz. Although the dear, enkindling presence of our venerated colleague and friend is no longer visible on our earthly horizon, (since his illumined spirit now shines in Eternity), nevertheless, in the hearts of all of us who knew him, there linger and will long linger the many tender recollections and loving associations, which his life, so altogether good and gracious, reflects unto us from the Beyond in the lovely afterglow of its own beauty of holiness. And in thus recalling, as we needs must, at this sacred hour, the manner of man and minister he was, how rare and genuine his character in moral power and spiritual grace; how beneficent his career in its consecrated service for Israel and humanity, our dominant mood is not and cannot be the mood of mourning,—nay, but rather the mood of deep, devout gratitude unto God Almighty for the rich and varied blessings which, like so many ripened and full sheaves, grew so abundantly out of his ever-fruitful labor of love.

It is only voicing the real sentiment shared by our rabbinate and laity alike to say of Henry Berkowitz that in his own unobtrusive yet effective way he represented as nearly as any one did or could in our generation the ideal of Rabbi in Israel, as that ideal has come down to us ennobled by the traditions of centuries of saintly scholars, sages and devoted servants of the Lord.

You will no doubt recall that a few years ago he was chosen first graduate-lecturer at the Hebrew Union College, and delivered there a series of talks, under the title, Intimate Glimpses of a Rabbi's Career. With fine simplicity he drew for the youthful rabbinical aspirants a picture of what the true rabbi should be as religious teacher, as preacher of righteousness, as minister unto man. Soulfulness, native sincerity, humility, unselfishness, a devotion to truth, a passion for the right, a love of peace, a faith in human nature, a large tolerance for men's foibles and an eager, genuine willingness to serve and help them, the saving grace of humor and the divine grace of reverent trust and deep inner serenity—these were some of the noble features he appealingly depicted. He did not intend this delineation as personal in the least, for there was nothing of the self-conscious or the self-assertive about him. Nonetheless he was giving a self-portrayal, since he was himself just such a consecrated personality and his own character was the simple living exemplification of the ideals he thus drew.

Verily he was the man of God, *par excellence.* Though indeed possessed of fine intellectual gifts and other abilities of high order; though in his own way he was a real doer and his work is recorded in many splendidly successful activities and achievements both within his own community and for Jewry at large, nevertheless, it is the spiritual quality of him that stands first and foremost in our impressions of his rounded-out life. It was to this quality in him that elders and children alike responded so instinctively in congregation Rodeph Shalom where he served such a long and blessed ministry and was so spontaneously beloved. And it was this same subtle, spiritual element which like an emanation was felt also by those who only casually came in contact with him. His gentleness made him

great. His was the meekness which comes from innate goodness, and from unselfish, sympathetic understanding of and considerateness for others. His character had the simplicity which marks true spirituality—a spirituality of that rare kind which reaches toward the divine without losing its common human touch.

The purity of his motives, the unaffectedness of his manner, the winsomeness of his personality, the simple, sheer loveableness of the man made him in an unofficial yet real sense the rabbis' Rabbi. He held a place all his own in our Conference. He was one of that early band of devoted disciples who rallied around the founder of this organization and helped call it into existence. He served not only as its first secretary but was for various terms on its Executive Board and various other important committees, rendering noble yeoman service from the beginning and being ever and always a potent force and benign personal influence in our deliberations and activities. On at least two occasions he refused to allow the Nominating Committee to present his name for the high honor of presidency of our Conference, because he felt his defect of hearing might interfere with the expeditious handling of our sessions and discussions. To not a few of his confreres therefore he was not simply trusted confidant, counsellor and friend but the very pattern, exemplar and inspiration of the profession. Willingly did we, his colleagues, accord to him an affection—nay, a veneration such as only genuine character, real saintliness can call forth and hold unfailingly to the end.

We bless his memory now and bless ourselves, with that memory as we lovingly inscribe his honored and revered name on our records, the while we designate him as one who, in the familiar words of the Psalmist, "being clean of hands and pure of heart has ascended the hill of the Lord and now stands in God's holy place, there to receive the blessing of the Lord and favor from the God of his salvation."

E

STEINTHAL AND LAZARUS

DAVID NEUMARK

There was a time when these two names, Steinthal and Lazarus, were representative of the greatest achievements of German Jewry. Zunz and Geiger and Frankel and Graetz were great Jewish scholars in the technical sense, but they were not considered as the representatives of German Jewry by the non-Jewish world. In a later day Herrman Cohen was the leading representative of German Jewry. But in my student days it still was Steinthal and Lazarus. Both of them had passed the zenith of their literary activity, but they were the recognized leaders of German Jewry. Both of them were still engaged in teaching, Steinthal at both the university and the Hochschule, and Lazarus at the university. I had the good fortune of sitting at the feet of these great men, and I consider it a special privilege to say a few words in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of their birth:

Hayyim Steinthal was born May 16, 1823, in Groebzig im Anhaltischen, and died March 14, 1899, in Berlin. He studied philosophy and philology at the University of Berlin beginning 1843, and in 1850 he was admitted as "docent" of general linguistics and mythology. From 1852 to 1855 he studied in Paris the Chinese language and literature. In 1863 he was appointed "ausser ordentlicher" professor of general linguistics at the University of Berlin, and in 1872 professor of Jewish Philosophy and general history of religion at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Of his works may be mentioned:

1. Der Ursprung der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens (Berlin 1851; fourth, enlarged edition, 1888).

2. Klassifikation der Sprachen, dargestellt als die Entwickelung der Sprachidee (Berlin 1850), later enlarged under the title: Charakteristik der hauptsaechlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues (ibid. 1860).

3. Die Entwickelung der Schrift (ibid. 1852).

4. Grammatik, Logik, Psychologie, ihre Principien und ihre Verhaeltnisse zu einander (ibid. 1855).

5. Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Roemeren (ibid. 1863).

6. Philosophie, Geschichte und Psychologie in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen (ibid. 1864).

7. Die Mande—Negersprachen, psychologisch und phonetisch betrachtet (ibid. 1867).

8. Abriss der Sprachwissenschaft, erster Band: Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft (second edition 1881).

9. Since 1860 he edited together with Lazarus the famous "Zeitschrift fur Voelkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft."

10. Many essays on special Jewish topics and questions.

11. Allgemeine Ethik (Berlin 1885).

Moritz Lazarus was born September 15, 1824, in Filehne, in the province of Posen, Prussia, and died April 13, 1903, in Meran, Tyrol, the abode of the last years of his life. In 1860 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Bern, Switzerland, and in 1868 Lecturer of Philosophy at the Kriegesakademie at Berlin. In 1869 and 1871 he was president of the Jewish Synod at Leipzig, and in 1873 he was appointed professor of psychology, ethnic psychology, political psychology, epistemology and pedagogy at the University of Berlin. Of his works may be mentioned:

1. Das Leben der Seele in Monographien (Berlin 1856-1858, two volumes; 3 enlarged edition 1883 ff., 3 vols.).

2. Ueber den Ursprung der Sitten (2 ed. ibid. 1867).

3. Ueber die Ideen in der Geschichte (ibid. 1865; 2 ed. 1872).

4. Zur Lehre von den Sinnestaeuschungen (ibid. 1867).

5. Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie, together with Steinthal since 1860.

6. Many essays and lectures, especially on Jewish topics.

7. Jeremiah.

8. Ethik des Judentums, vol. I (Frankfurt a. M. 1898).

Steinthal and Lazarus were two great luminaries in the skies of Judaism who did not envy each other, and who worked together in love and harmony for the advancement of humanity and Judaism. Both of them, coming from families intensely Jewish (Lazarus' father was a disciple of *R. Akiba Eger,* and president of the Beth-Din and Yeshibah of Philene) reached great heights in general philosophy and science, but retained their loyalty to Judaism in spite of their great success in other fields. Steinthal's "Allgemeine Ethik" is filled with the spirit of Judaism, and Lazarus crowned his life-work with "Die Ethik des Judentums." Steinthal and Lazarus both tried to adopt from Kant such elements as in their opinion were best assimilable to Jewish thought. On many a point we may think differently today, but they pointed the way for us. As teachers they were both gracious and impressive. From Lazarus I learned in open classwork, he entertained while he was teaching, he made of the most abstract subject an actuality, a most practical concern. He taught us the art of suaviter in modo fortiter in re. And when I applied this method in my review of his Ethik, he showed himself in all his graciousness. When, after the publication of my review, I visited my old teacher in Meran (a habit not practiced any more today), he talked the matter over with me, defended his views, but gave me full freedom to defend my own views. Other great men, like Bacher, Goldziher, Kohler and Ahad-ha-Am, wrote me letters of thanks when I criticized their works, but Lazarus did more. In his will he appointed Elbogen and myself editors of the second volume of his Ethik. From Steinthal we learned most in his *Privatissmum.* There were only a few students in that seminar. We could not say exactly what subject we discussed. We discussed all subjects and pursued every thought into all its side issues.

One thing we know we learned from Steinthal: *the art of thinking.* In Gutzkow's famous drama "Uriel a-Costa," the hero asks deSilva: "Can you teach thinking?" But Steinthal did it. You hardly knew how it came about, you were listening to him, discussing with him, and by and by, imperceptibly, you realized that you were progressing in the art of thinking. It is the dream of those wonderful hours that I have been trying to make come true in the privatissimus which I have been holding with the Seniors at the Hebrew Union College for the last decade or so.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis by commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Steinthal and Lazarus, give expression to the reverence and admiration due to these two great Jews who by their great work have sanctified the name of God and glorified the name of Israel.

F

THE PLACE OF THE SERMON IN JEWISH WORSHIP

GERSON B. LEVI

The subject assigned to me—the place of the sermon in Jewish worship—might assume the necessity of developing, in fair detail, at least, an outline of the history and meaning of Jewish worship on the one hand, and an outline of the history of preaching, together with a statement of its theory and practice and purpose on the other, and then finally of showing the place that the sermon held in public worship (see Tal. Bab., Megillah 15b, Mishnah Taanith 2, 1) or even in the semi-public occasions of worship as at weddings and funerals (see Tal. Bab., Megillah 6; Tal. Bab., Moed Katan 25b; Leviticus Rabb. 30; in which the use of *kore* is probably to "use as a text" and in all probability the *kad demach* passages are indicative of more than a mere statement of a biblical phrase on the occasion of a death, they may be indications of a sermon preached of which the text only is given.) The materials of the one could not possibly be adequately covered in the space of this paper, and indeed it is not necessary to make the attempt. What with the running commentary to the text of the prayers as found in the *Abodath Israel* of Baer, and the notes of Abrahams to the Singer Prayer Book, the work of Elbogen, and the richly summarized work of Zunz in his *Ritus*, the foundations have been securely laid. Geiger's study of the prayer book has affected all the prayer books of the Reform Synagog. The materials of the other have been given by Zunz in his classic and epoch making book on the sermonic literature, and this paper has no revolutionary thought to offer in correction of Zunz. In the narrower understanding of the sermon, Maybaum's

work on Jewish Homiletics still stands alone. The materials that were available to the writers of articles in the various encyclopedias have not increased appreciably.

The results of these studies are still the same. The citations gathered would show from sources, biblical and post-biblical, that the written word was often accompanied by a spoken word,—to begin with, a free translation, as in the earlier Targum and then an interpretation of the text and an application of it to conditions as they were found in the interpreter's time rather than in the period or the lifetime of the original as in the later Targum (see Targums to Gen. 49, 3-4 and Deut. 32, 5ff.) And sufficient attention has been called to it that gradually out of the casual spoken word, tightly joined to the written text, there evolved the address, a careful bit of workmanship with its technique and phraseology as found in the Midrash, with a view to increasing the understanding of the Law among the people, with the hope of inculcating a love for the task assigned to Israel and ultimately, an endeavor to turn the will of Israel to the doing of the work assigned to it,—in other words a sermon.

From many indications in the literature, it is thoroughly clear that once the written word was made the property of the house of Israel—and the public gathering was occasioned by the reading of this common property—it could not have taken long before the work of interpretation also formed an essential part of the exercises of the public gathering. To both, the reading and the interpretation, the talmudic authorities have assigned origins which they have attributed to all customs whose beginnings were far away or whose hold on the people was strong, and they have therefore thought of both as practices ordained at Sinai or ordained by the men of the great synagog. (See Tal. Bab., Megillah 4a and 32a, see also *Sifre* to *Reeh,* par. 127 and *Sifre* to *Behaalothecha,* par. 66 and Tal. Bab., Berachoth 33a).

Bringing the Torah to the people in a language that the people understood, (and this sometimes involved the use of the language other than the one in which the original text appears), and the reading of the text itself formed the core of the Jewish order of worship and as such formed also the beginning of, and gave importance to the sermon.

When that stage is reached a distinction must be drawn, and a new turn to the history of worship and the sermon must be noted. Writers connect the sermonic literature and practice with the speech of the prophet, thus giving the sermon an ancestry in the prophetic school. But there is an essential difference to be drawn between the word spoken at the gathering of the people in the presence of Ezekiel, who builds on no text, except it be the one which was taken from the popular philosophy and which both he and Jeremiah had occasion to oppose, and the earliest comment in the homiletic materials when the speaker already had pegs in his people's literature, (as for example, in the speeches of Mattathias in the Maccabees and in Tobit where an exhortation to alms giving is founded on the use of the text *Zedakah tazil Mimoveth,* or as in Luke 4, 16, in which Isaiah 61, 1-2 perhaps the haftarah of the day is elucidated) and suggestions in phrases which have already gained popular approval and even wide acceptance. The spoken address of the religious teacher of the Bible is somewhat different from the literary craftsmanship of the later preacher. It is problematic what literature Ezekiel had before him that the men of his day would accept as authoritative. The sermonizers have, at their best, an anchor, and at their worst, a tether in the words which both speaker and congregation possess and for the study of which the gathering was called.

But even with this distinction made, the sermon in Judaism has a long and honorable career. It has tried many models both native and foreign. It has cast itself into the mold that the Greek world supplied as in Philo. It has availed itself in some corners of the forms used by the writers of the few chapters of the apocalyptic style in the Bible. It has in recent years borrowed the form that the Christian Protestant Church has offered, and it has developed originally and made for itself, the unique artistic construction whose main lines are preserved in the midrashic literature. And there, though the type is consistent, workmanship has not lost freedom in the use of or in the choice of materials. The divergence is great between the *Yelammedenu* which binds legal enactments to moral and spiritual use and the *Rabbah* which develops quite apart from the *Halachah.* The ancient spirit of the sermon and its method of workmanship have survived even to

modern days, we are forced to say, in crude unliterary form in the accepted sermon of the Orthodox synagog, as well as in the literary work of Nissinbaum, who while he turns every possibility to the urging of nationalistic Judaism, is well worthy of study as a craftsman quite different from the genus produced by the Maybaum restrictions and prescriptions.

Of course, the integrity of the literature which was the basis of the sermon was not questioned. The preacher who began the story of Jewish preaching, who was the first *yoshev vedoresh,* had as his first duty to make known the Torah as a whole, though only parts of it were regularly read at the occasions of public worship. The use that was made of the section read is indicated by the passages in the New Testament when, after the reading of the prophetic portion which itself followed the pentateuchal lesson (see on this now Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,* second series, page 7), Jesus, in some cases, and his apostles, in others, enlarge upon the lesson. But the text of the New Testament lays no stress on the possibility here of an innovation on the part of Jesus. It is nowhere assumed that Jesus and his disciples were deviating from the norm established for the Synagog in Palestine and in the diaspora. The reading was not selected by the reader. The accepted practice then was clearly this, that after the reading of the lessons any one who had the mind and the heart to do it—the *zoken* or the *hacham,* but preferably one who combined both attributes would make a starting point of these passages and launch out into an interpretation binding the old virtues with the new requirements, the old prescriptions to the new conditions.

But the task of the preacher and teacher, in the original form of the sermon was to bind up all the parts of the literature, those regularly read and those not so used. A usual form for the preacher to pursue was to show that what he had to teach came from all three sections of holy writ. And it is to be noted that the same phenomenon appears in the prayer book whenever quotation is resorted to (for this see the *Tekiathaa deray.* Tal. Jer. Rosh Hashanah, I, 1). And it is for this reason, incidentally, that the section of the *Kethubim* furnishes unexpectedly the secondary texts for the great bulk of the sermonic outlines preserved for us in the Midrashic literature. A cursory exam-

ination of the texts of the Bible quoted in the *Pesikta Rabbati,* a work circling around festivals and important Sabbaths, and in which the sermons are limited to definite biblical selections, will show the preponderance of secondary texts from the Psalms. The *Seder Eliyahu,* in which, however, the necessity of abiding by regularly prescribed biblical readings is absent, will show the same rich use of the *Kethubim.* And the *Kethubim* never furnished the readings for the Haftarah. It seems to have been fundamental, therefore, in the thought of the preacher of old to provide a knowledge of the literature as a whole as it was to give exhortation, comfort or rebuke. Through the fulfillment of both of these purposes, the preachers of an earlier school considered that they were giving a rounded conception of the meaning, value and beauty of Jewish life and traditions and were at the same time strengthening the will of the Jewish people for the fulfillment of Jewish purposes, were inculcating a firm patience for such a time when the mission of Israel would begin to be fulfilled.

The detail of the mission of Israel is necessarily one of the points at which Jewish preaching and Jewish prayer meet. And in the homiletic literature despite many aberrations, in which the apocalyptic style is not absent, and eschatological material abundant, the mission of Israel is to be found depicted in a very high and universalistic fashion. Certainly the fathers of Jewish preaching proved conclusively enough their attitude in the interpretation of the position and worth of the Jew to himself and to the world. (See *Bamidbar Rabbah,* Matoth 22b). They were agreed that it was the Torah alone that made Israel distinct from the other peoples of the earth. They assumed that intellectual and religious freedom and spiritual excellence were far above political freedom and power and they were willing to speak in exalted terms of the one, and to put the festival that spoke of political freedom gained in a very minor and subordinate place, as they did with the Chanukkah festival. It is remarkable that the festival of the Chanukkah has no tractate in the Mishnah assigned to it. The school and the synagog, the prayer and the sermon are at one in thinking of the mission of Israel as an ethical one. It could not well

be otherwise. The concord was not because two streams had met. They issued from the same source.

Ethical values were not the property of those who had only poetic fancy, but were possessed by those who had the concern for the actualities. The teachers of the law and the sermonizers who worked out their texts, through parable and fancy, to a joyous corroboration of Israel's hope were the same men who were busy with the legal interpretations and with the ceremonial enactments. Hillel and Shammai (see Pesachim 70b) were called *hachamim gedolim darshanim gedolim.* Rabbi Meir (see Lev. Rab. 5, 1) was a preacher. The mention of Rabbi as a preacher, recalls his custom of waiting until all the congregation had gathered. It was in the school of Rav that the magnificent short sermon was framed, a sermon whose beauty and value was recognized even in olden times so that while intended only for the one day in the year a part of it was taken into the daily prayers. In that prayer there is a successful attempt to clothe the New Year's Day with the dignity of a world wide philosophy and in the acknowledged preacher's style, through text and illustration, the work is done. Already in it, there is emphasis on these three fundamentals, God's rule of the world, God's revelation of Himself and retribution.

All of these preachers and searchers assumed that it was the business of the Jew to have possession of the details of the law but more particularly did they consider that it was to the interest of the Jew and the world at large, to have instilled in him the love for and the appreciation of the reasons that, it was conceived, made Israel's continuance imperative.

To this extent the sermon in Judaism is radically different from the sermon in Christianity, evangelistic Christianity anyway. The very term for the art form is suggestive. What in Christianity is a conversation, a talk, is in Judaism a searching. The preacher in Judaism is a searcher. Christianity has a personality to describe, a perfection achieved to talk about and to depict. The preacher has the task of making "him crucified" a figure of loveliness, a source of hope, a character the emulation of which constitutes human perfection. Judaism has no such personality and it has no such a perfection achieved. It has a process to

discover, an unfolding record to read and understand and its faithfulness resides in labor for furthering the process. Thus its great are valued and placed. History, therefore, becomes a definite element in the Jewish sermon, which cannot be merely exhortation. It must seriously consider the elements of Jewish achievement and struggle. It must be cognizant of Jewish literature and practice. Garvie speaks of the Christian preacher. "He is not an explorer," he says, "he is a messenger," but Judaism thinks of him as a *"shoel vedoresh."*

We get at the distinctiveness from another point of view. The sermon was always bound up with the reading of the Law, which in turn was the core of Jewish worship. But one reads the section of the Law at the proper time and has the reward of prayer, one reads it late and has a reward anyway of having read from the Law. For all this, the synagog was the home. Now it is usually declared that the synagog had three functions. It was the place where the law was read and studied. It was the gathering place of the community. It was the place where the word of prayer was poured out in praise and supplication. And with this description, we usually rest. But this is only half of the statement. It ought to be supplemented with this thought, that if the place was the same for all three purposes, it is quite impossible to separate the three purposes sharply from one another. It must be assumed that the purposes often touched, that the presence of the one influenced the others. The spirit of the time of study was not unheeded when the prayer was being said and the community spirit was not absent in prayer or in study. Prayers came to be largely phrased in the plural. The sermon was largely study and the community spirit received its consecration and was not allowed to dwell merely on economic utilities. In other words, the synagog with its sermon and its worship and its community life may be analyzed but must not remain analyzed to give us a correct view of any of the functions carried on in it. The elements must be synthesized again and the relationship be reestablished between the functions of the synagog.

And it is not necessary to emphasize the thought that Jewish prayer had its distinctive character because of the interaction with the other two functions of the synagog and with which it was

joined in close companionship. It would be as the Midrash puts it, bringing *Muries leaspamia* (see Vaera Rab. 9, 4). No doubt at one time or another, we have quoted Heine, and have given his intuitive grasp of the situation when he said that the Jew prays history and philosophy, and I cannot quite remember whether he also includes archaeology. An orthodox rabbi was questioned about the utility of the retention of the *Yekum Purkan* prayer a thousand years after the destruction of the schools in whose behalf the prayers were said. He answered that the prayer could and should be said and all that was necessary to remedy the defect pointed out, he added, was to preface the prayer with four words, *kach hoyu abothenu omerim.*

Of prayer, this much is sure. The Jew describes the universe to the maker of it. He portrays its orderliness to its founder. He depicts its beauty to the source of holiness and beauty. And with something akin to impudence he holds God to the plans that he has read into the universe, in the lives of peoples and in the procession of men and things. Because of this, the Jew reserves for himself confidently a place under the sun. The world was not complete when God said it was. It was complete when Solomon built the Temple, says the Midrash. And if in prayer men begged for the realization of God, the answer was found sometimes in prayer, sometimes in study (see Shir Hashirim, Rab. to meziz min haḥarakim). (See also Yalḳut, Mishle 951). Study could easily end in prayer, and prayer in study. Preaching is the equivalent of the Temple service (see Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, Schechter ed. p. 18). The Kaddish was part of the hour of study and *Bameh madlikin* a part of the hour of prayer.

Equally, the affiliation in the synagog with the third element has given prayer in Judaism another turn and has provided material for the sermon as well. It has given warrant to the Jewish preacher to emphasize what the originative spirits of the people worded. A high sense of social justice is the legitimate possession of the preacher just because his preaching had fellowship with prayer and study. Philo partly summed up the purpose of preaching when he said that it fell into two heads.—one concerning God with a thought for piety and holiness, the other concerning man with a thought of love of man and righteousness.

It is into the Jewish type of service that the Jewish sermon must fit. It must supplement the sentiments which express themselves through prayer which at one time or another, certainly in the beginning, was the short and best way of asserting the principles for which Israel stands. If the prayer was the soulful and poetic way of formulating the principles of Israel, (and each prayer is in its way a summing up of some principle) the sermon was the means of elaborating, and illustrating. Through new application, it became means of revivifying a slumbering thought.

At the same time, it must be evident that the time has arrived when the spirit that animates the sermon, as a product of study and enthusiastic love for the heritage of Israel, and as an effort to make clear the position that the synagog occupies in the midst of the institutions that aim for the upbuilding of humanity, and as a stimulus to drive the individual in the community to a righteous construction of life, should feel deeply the responsibility that accrues to it out of the companionship that it has had in the synagog. The prayer, result of the thought of an earlier generation, has had its reaction on the later generation and has contributed its material to the sermon. Now the sermon should enter the domain of public worship and give public worship the benefit of its thinking. Once before, many times before in fact, has it done this. The sermons of an older generation of preachers and thinkers have left their marks either in adding to the prayer book or in deleting materials that no more could be said and keep the spirit of Judaism consistent with itself. The thinker fought out the battle of dualism for himself and left a paragraph of prayer as a song of victory in which his assertion of monism is maintained. Equally did he celebrate his victory of the conception of a human race that has not fallen from, but is constantly, steadily, laboriously rising to grace.

But we have in these days, in Reform at least, been preaching for an evolutionary idea of Jewish history. The result of the research in the domain of literary criticism we have sometimes hurriedly, sometimes intelligently received and applied. Out of the result, we have gained an entirely new thought concerning the heritage of Israel. We know now that it was through many

years of struggle and over roads that prophets and teachers walked with bold but never rapid step that a Torah was received. Our whole literature becomes of one piece therefore, and in far deeper sense have we become the people of the book, for by book we cannot now mean any one volume of that great literature. It is not in accord with our own reasoned construction of our history and our literature to leave untouched or to pass by lightly the materials that happen not to be found in that one particular volume in the narrow sense. The step was made by an older synagog that selected, for a few weeks anyway, as the source of the religious teaching a book not found in the twenty-four books of the Bible. To this extent Orthodoxy is far more in accord with Jewish tradition than is a Reform Judaism that has limited itself to the Bible. There is more genuineness in the even disorderly ausheben of the orthodox synagog, than in the super sanctimonious bending before and staring into the ark with its scrolls of only a part of the Bible at that.

Then this must follow. We cannot preach in the sermon that the Bible is the product of the Jewish spirit and justify our very existence by our gift of the Bible to humanity, and that only secondarily is it the maker of Judaism, and then in the hour of public worship proclaim: "the Torah which God gave through Moses." We are in this dividing ourselves and severing our conscience from the act of worship. There are historic allusions in the prayer book that we have still kept, the writers of which had a conception of Jewish history different from ours. The details of the redemption from Egypt are stressed when we could easily maintain our conscience unsevered by emphasizing merely the redemption. The holydays still keep something of the superstition of God the book-keeper. The standing before the open ark, and the recital of a prayer concerning the fall of man assume matters that we cannot well maintain in the sermon that we preach. In other words, if we are to continue preaching and have it as a part of public worship, the spirit that fills the sermon should invade the public utterances, private too for that matter, of prayer. We found exception to the Yigdal statement of the resurrection and we amended it. But the amended Yigdal still maintains a narrow Mosaic authorship of the Bible. We found difficulty with

the *mehareh hamachim* of the *geburoth* paragraph in the *amidah,* but we labor very hard in the English sections of the Kaddish, and some of us are not quite satisfied with what the prayer book has done in this matter so that we have to introduce from other sources dangerous statements concerning immortality and the meeting in the great beyond. We assume in all our preaching that there is an orderly universe, that the unchanging process of nature is but sign of God, and teach that it is in the obedience to the law moral and physical that man finds his true self. Yet we still keep references to miracles and signs and wonders and find no immediate difficulty perhaps because we are reading the accustomed. We found difficulty in the early Reform synagog in the references to the sacrifices and the rebuilding of a sacerdotal nationalism in Palestine. These prayers have vanished. Less bold assertions concerning the return to Palestine have not been removed and some are agreed that they should have been removed. But it still seems to me, that the companionship in the synagog of prayer and preaching, is not without mental reservations, just because we have not allowed a full and free influencing of our preaching and teaching upon our prayers. Our prayers are a generation behind. The present preaching needs a better background. The Reform synagog has too many theological, historical and literary *Yekum Purkans,* to which we preface *"kach hayu abothenu omerim."*

Today, the sermon is practically the only source of religious instruction, and it should feel the responsibility. From present indications, the conditions in America will not change so rapidly as to permit, in the immediate future, the preacher to feel in the least warranted in the hope, or in the belief, that if the sermon does not convey the materials of Jewish tradition, and interpretation, or that if the sermon breaks away from the companionship in which it was reared, that there will be some other source from which will well forth the waters of a living Jewish knowledge.

Principally between the devotion of the prayer and the learned inspiration of the preaching, the will to action was brought about. The two travelled together visibly in the synagog and filled out the available time. Garvie has this to say in his *The Christian Preacher,* "It is noteworthy that the churches that excelled in

preaching, have generally been indifferent to ritual, and that where ritual has been elaborated preaching has declined." Garvie is not dealing with preaching or praying in the Jewish sense but his thought remains true. As soon as a ritual is overelaborated preaching practically ceases. Its place is taken by the involved and massive compositions of the *Paitanim*. These dealt very freely with the materials of the Midrash. Its allusions and its poetry they took to themselves, and used in making the erudite prayers with which Israel approached his maker, not on the great days of the year alone, but also on many seemingly unimportant sabbaths. But the *Paitanim* served the homiletic material of the Midrash very ungratefully. It was their work that, taking the place of the free and artistic play of the sermon, dried up the wells of free inspiration and closed them. Zunz, in his study of the sermon, has to confess that in the Ashkenazic lands, the sermon had its long interruption (see also Eschelbacher in the 1914 *Jahrbuch fuer Juedische Geschichte und Literatur*). The continuous story of the sermon is to be obtained by taking many lands into consideration. The Sephardic communities that never allowed the *Kaliri* material to fill the liturgy present a more continuous record of preaching. When the simplification of the ritual swept Ashkenazic lands, the sermon came back and was given a new opportunity. But when it is considered that the simplification of the ritual is largely due to the influence of the school of reform in Judaism, it is permissible to say that the sermon of modern day in western lands is the product of Reform Judaism, and that it is through Reform, historically, that Judaism today has possession of the means of explaining itself to the Jew and to the world at large.

And in reality, the history of preaching in the last century is part of the unfolding of the spirit of Reform, deliberately and systematically, though not without warmth and appreciation, creating a reign of reason in the early circles. Not that there were not and are not now preachers in the Orthodox synagog, but the student cannot forget what difficulty the sermon experienced in establishing itself in Germany. In the very nature of things, the singer of the service in the Orthodox synagog takes precedence over the teacher in public importance. Where preaching is done,

it is under the stimulus of Reform Jewry though it is quite willing to be used as a model by Orthodoxy.

Reform Judaism conceived that the Jew needed to have his world clear. The themes that engaged the attention of the world around him had to be re-investigated by the Jewish consciousness. The traveler on a new road has to ask questions. That and not just convenience, a seeking for a philosophy and not just caprice filled the mind of the first generation of reformers, and was productive of the great literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. The materials of the sermon then could easily become richer. Teachings had to be restated and the process of history had to be repeated, and some of the achievements were true to tradition echoed in the prayers. For the simple paragraphs of prayer before they were swallowed up in the involved and erudite poems of the *Paitanim* and before they were elaborated and weighted down with oriental imagery, had done this for an earlier age. The prayer book is, in this sense, the first collection of the sermons of the Rabbis. The *malchuyoth, zichronoth* and *shoferoth* of the New Year's Day constitute the first tracts of holyday sermons. And as such, they have served as sources for later teachers and preachers.

And the ritual of the middle ages might have turned itself into a new source book of sermon material if oppressions and disasters had not inspired the songs of despair and distress, and poor literary taste had not spoiled the rest.

But while it is true that the shortening and simplification of the ritual gave the preacher his opportunity, it found the preacher unprepared to assume the task in the fullest measure. The early sermons broke away completely from the type that had been set up by the synagog itself and followed very closely upon the model of the Protestant Church. One has the impression in reading them that far more time was spent in Protestant homiletical exactness of introduction and threefold division and peroration than in the materials that were very stingily scattered through the gracious and unctuous verbiage. For many of the preachers, the sermon was a thing apart from their scholarship. A scholar would waste himself in a so-called spiritual homily. It quite

passes understanding how Sachs, as a scholar, could ever have preached the sermons that were attributed to him.

There were exceptions and there is no need to name them all. Holdheim preached understandingly on the problems that faced the Jewish community. Hirsch preached philosophically, Jellinek with fine Jewish taste. The last brought into active work again the materials of the synagog. As scholar and as preacher, Jellinek deserves the thanks of not only his own generation.

The American situation has quite materially affected the nature and decided the importance of the sermon. If for no other reason, the continued shortening of the liturgy has operated to make the sermon the principal thing in the service, everything else being background to it. The sermon dominates the prayer today. But new factors entered into determining the kind of a sermon that would reach the congregation. Jellinek, in his return to Jewish midrashic materials, had before him a congregation that was fairly familiar with the materials that he used. The men of his congregation understood and appreciated a novel or an original turn of an old midrash. They rejoiced in the ethical product of some unpromising halacahah. And these men too were familiar with the language, the literature and the traditions of the people in whose midst they lived. This was not true in American congregations. With Jewish literature, the men of the congregations, except in a very few instances, have no acquaintance. Merely to be able to read Hebrew mechanically, and without understanding a single word, was deemed enough to give a man a reputation for learning in the community. A whole generation moreover had to make its way into the language, the life, the literature of a new people. Speedily, the pulpit reacted. It assumed the task, doubtless useful and necessary at the time, of introducing in diluted form, of course, the books of America, the discoveries of the sciences, the reflections of the poets, either in elaboration or in quotations. Visitors to America were quite charmed with the freedom that the Jewish pulpit possessed. It could speak with authority on the Alhambra, on the Stones of Venice, on evolution, on a journey around the world. It was broadminded not to obtrude Hebrew learning and Hebrew books in public. Public worship was then divided as it had never been

before. It had a recitation of something Jewish and then a diluted university extension course. The sermon rapidly assumed the construction of the magazine article with an Amen at the end, or of an essay by a layman in science on some modern scientific subject with a paragraph of an *ubo leziyon goel,* closing the attempt.

On the whole, we have passed that stage, though we have now a generation too sophisticated for sermons of the type of Salomon in the Hamburg Temple, and too unlearned to appreciate Jellinek. We have come to a better understanding of the place of the preacher. He is a specialist and is within his rights when he demands recognition for his specialty. His illustrations for his specialty may be world wide and world scattered. The social, religious and ethical strivings of any part of the race may give him materials. There is no subject but what it can yield, by its law and by obedience to law, testimony to the Lord of hosts. These things are legitimate materials for the preacher. But under and over all of them, there is the Jewish preacher's specialty—the knowledge of the Jewish part in the world's great play of humanity. It is his task to create a love for that Jewish assignment in history. It is worth quoting Mannheimer: "I need a whole week for a sermon," he writes: "I read all the midrashim and commentators to the *parashah* so as to bind the present day with the generally accepted truths without, of course, binding myself to the letter. I seek my themes out of the most fruitful materials of the sacred and the home life interchangeably. I seek to expound these themes as clearly and with as much light as I can master and to express them with as much power and clearness and sentiment as I can."

When we plead for a resumption of Jewish preaching, for a utilizing of the rich literature of the Midrash, it is not for just an increase of quotations from that literature. It implies rather a working out in poetic and logical elaboration of the theme of Jewish treasure, purpose, light and achievement, but not in the hard and fast line of the divisions of Protestant Christian preaching. I am inclined to believe that the best sermons of the great preacher of the century, Emil G. Hirsch, will as time goes on, be found to be not those that he preached as a professor—and he

could do that—but just those that he cast in the mold of the midrash. Too many have tried to follow Hirsch the lecturer and too few Hirsch the midrashic preacher. The same art is controlled by the typically Jewish preacher from the point of view of construction and concept, Dr. Kohler. And it is in this art, that American Jewish preachers must be raised. And it is through this art that the Jewish preacher will, upon the background of the service and on the basis of the literature, help to build up a Judaism free from the sentimentalities, solid in its adherence to reason and yet warm in its loyalty.

The path of the modern preacher is not any more difficult than that of the old preacher. He who has few listeners can flatter himself, if he desires, by the possibility that not many can afford to pay the price. That flattery is as old as Talmudic days. He who has many listeners,—well he needs no comforting.

And a last paragraph. As long as we feel that we ought to have the sefer torah in the service and still read from it in the public worship of the synagog, we ought to be logical and make the sermon as part of the public service build up, at least in the mind of the preacher, on the basis of the original speech of the text, read and to be explained. Preaching on "mercy" from an English translation and on *raḥamin* out of the Hebrew original are two different things. The relationship between the giver and the receiver of mercy is quite distinct from that existing between the giver and receiver of *raḥamin*. Most assuredly the God of *raḥamin* does not bestow an undeserved favor on the unworthy. And I am sure that it would not hurt to preach on חטא rather than on sin. I have in mind, a phrase, taken from the English translation, has no doubt lent itself to many sermons. The phrase is "from strength to strength." One of the English commentators has it "from battlement to battlement," picturing the pilgrims as making a series of frightened dashes along the road where safety was felt only at the battlements. But one, who is familiar with the Pilgrim Psalm, and still has the tradition of the Jerushalmi Bikkurim, will get an entirely different view. He will see the group of villagers marching in song joined at the crossroads by other marchers; in the meanwhile, the volume of song swells with the gathering villagers until, when Jerusalem is reached, a whole land

has poured its inhabitants in song and melody to the city of the Lord. It is a picture of a people rejoicing in the call to come to the house of the Lord, happy in its spiritual possessions. It is perhaps a picture of the condition that the preacher seeks to create in the synagog in the hour of public worship, when the mind is set on high thoughts through prayer and on strong resolves through preaching.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Max Heller: I desire to pay a cordial tribute to the ripe scholarship and faithful labor which dignified Rabbi Levi's paper, and to apologize for the desultory character of my discussion, due to a combination of untoward circumstances. I found myself in entire agreement with the writer who stressed the intimate and integral connection between worship and sermon. Here and there I have to register a note of casual dissent. I cannot regard Chanukah as a mere anniversary of political independence; it was the dedication of the altar which was commemorated. If there was no special treatise on Chanukah, corresponding to the tractate of Megillah, we must not undervalue, on the other hand, the blessing which represents the Chanukah lights as a divine injunction. In another part of the paper Rabbi Levi had found fault with the Union Prayerbook for limiting its readings to the Bible, forgetting the readings from the Apocrypha in our Atonement afternoon service and the embodiment, in the unrevised volume I, of the Sayings of the Fathers. The criticism of Michael Sachs does not seem altogether fair; it must not be forgotten that Sachs, as a scholar, belonged not to the class of original searchers, such as Geiger and Frankel, but rather to that of cultured literati, like Stein and Philippson; it was his cultivation of the ancient classics which stamped its impress alike upon his homiletic style and his literary career. As to Jellinek, one's pleasure in his mastery of the Midrash is often marred by false notes, when he labors to extort artificial meanings from passages of inferior value. A rather strikingly unexpected statement was the author's contention, which struck a sympathetic chord in me, though it

calls for several qualifications, to the effect that "our mission is an ethical one."

As Rabbi Levi warns, our forms of worship need a great deal of deepening and intensifying; they seem to sin on the score of a lack of deep religious feeling. We have not only failed to bring our prayers up to the level of philosophic insight, of historical knowledge and critical acumen to which we have risen; they are not adequate to the cravings of a spiritual faith. In pleading for a radical reform, even of our revised prayerbook, I wish to remind my hearers that I resigned as Chairman of the Committee for Prayerbook Revision after the Detroit Convention had voted to limit that revision essentially to verbal changes. Incidentally I feel that adequate scope was not being given in our service to spontaneous prayer and that the seminaries would do well to provide for training in this direction. Here was a first step in squaring the relationship between worship and sermon.

The paper had given expression to the thought that we are waiting for the coming of some great preacher; of eloquent orators and entertaining speakers we have an abundance; the attractive lecturer, the delightful pulpit-entertainer is greatly in evidence. In passing, a mild protest might be entered against the jocular observation that those whose lectures command large audiences "need no comfort." Surface successes may be felt as essential failures. When Sunday audiences are made up of non-Jews and non-members almost to the exclusion of the congregation itself, when subject and treatment must be cheapened to the spiritual level of the crowd, the successful victim of his own accomplishments is not always spared an aching consciousness of degradation.

The awaited great preacher—who may, just as likely, make his appearance in the orthodox ranks—may really have come and gone again. I can not help remembering that of all sermons I have ever heard the one which, in the rarest degree, combined literary, philosophical and scientific scholarship, on the one hand, with Jewish inspiration and spiritual grasp on the other, was delivered by an orthodox colleague of blessed memory, Dr. Joseph Mayer Asher, whose flaming enthusiasm had burned out its frail vessel before its time.

It seemed a pity that at this advanced period in our pulpit development we are as yet so far from any attempt at a systematic history of Jewish homiletics; years ago the conference, in a round table, discussed the question of the most effective sermon; there is not yet in existence even so modest an effort as an attempt to present analytically the method of some outstanding Jewish preacher, such *e. g.*, as David Einhorn. The study of older models will aid one, not only to acquire methods, but also to enter into the spirit.

Rabbi Freehof: If there is a lack of harmony between the spirit of the sermon and the spirit of the service, it does not necessarily follow that we have to modernize the service constantly. Another conclusion is possible. If the service does not harmonize with our mood, it is quite possible, or at least worthy of consideration, that we might develop our mood to understand the service again.

Our first reaction always is to tamper with the Prayerbook. It seems to me we could do well if we left the Prayerbook alone for a while. Perhaps it might develop again some of the poetry it once had. Perhaps the difference between the sermon and the service is not necessarily a disagreement, but a division of function. It may be that the sermon is intended to represent the logical faith, and the service the emotional faith. We should not expect perhaps to have a succession of syllogisms in our religious service. We might leave a little more Hebrew there and let it work through our feelings, rather than our mind. The sermon represents the Jew as a child of the Age, and the service as a Child of History. But there are one or two other points I would like to add to the paper of Dr. Levi.

It seems to me that the connection between the Torah and the sermon and the Midrash as it developed, could well be considered from the following point of view. It is remarkable that in the Halachic work we call the Mishnah, there is found the work we call the ethics of the Fathers, and it is still more remarkable that at the end of almost every tractate, there is found the statement of the ethical implications of that particular tractate. For instance, at the end of one, it is stated that one is in duty

bound to thank God for what we consider evil and then immediately follows a sermon on the text: "Thou shalt love the Lord." Or at the end of the tractate Peah, the last chapter deals with Charity, there is a discussion of the ethical implications of the laws of Charity.

It seems to me that this shows a very close connection between Halacha and Agada, between Torah and ethics, namely that from Halacha, we go to the Midrash; from law, we go to the spirit, from self-discipline to self-development.

The writer of the paper properly drew a distinction between Judaism and Christianity with regard to the sermon and pointed out justly that the Christian preacher is a man who makes declarations; he is a bearer of the evangel, and that the Jewish preacher is the investigator. It seems to me we can get an additional idea if we compare the sermon with the pre-Christian ideals. The great distinction between Judaism and all the Greek or Roman faiths was just in the Midrash and in the sermon; with the exception of the stoic, all the faiths that dominated the Greek and Roman world were mystery religions. They captivated the imagination of the masses by means of rituals but kept the secrets of the faith for the chosen few; whereas the idea of Judaism was always to have many disciples, teaching the essence of faith to as many people as possible. The phenomenon of Midrash, of people traveling through the land and interpreting the Scriptures to the masses, was a new thing in the history of religion. It was the first attempt at mass enlightenment. And so if we trace the Midrash from that point of view,—as a religious discovery—as the first attempt to give universal religious education,—trace it from the first development of the Scriptural texts, down to the present time,—we find we are in the presence of something entirely new and original in the history of faith, something that was summed up in the word of Jerushalmi—"If there is no understanding, there can be no faith."

Rabbi Enelow: I should like to use but a minute or two for the purpose of protesting against one point—in both the admirable paper of Doctor Levi and the stimulating discussion. I refer to their attitude toward the Piyyutim. Both speakers

agreed in this regard. I think Doctor Levi said that the Piyyutim took the place of preaching and thus made for deterioration in the religious life of the Jews. Rabbi Heller, I believe, also spoke of deterioration of some kind in connection with the Piyyutim. Now, both these statements, it seems to me, represent an attitude toward the literature of the Piyyutim which nowadays should be made obsolete, if it has not become so as yet.

In the early days of Reform there was a struggle against certain parts and forms of the liturgy. It was part of the battle with relentless Orthodoxy. In those days all sorts of hard names were applied to the Payyetanim. At present, however, we have gone beyond that stage. We ought to know that the Payyetanim did not suppress the sermon; that, on the contrary, they came to the rescue of the sermon. The Piyyut came into being as a substitute for the sermon, at a critical moment. It was because the sermon had been suppressed by those who wanted to exterminate the religious life of the Jewish people that certain masters, who were also poets, adopted the Piyyut as a means of instruction, of spreading the teachings and the hopes of the Jewish people. The purpose of the Piyyutim was the perpetuation of Judaism at a time of persecution. Those who have studied Doctor Israel Davidson's work in this field, especially his Mahzor Yannai, are familiar with this explanation of the origin and the contents of the Piyyutim, and I may say that many eminent scholars have accepted this explanation.

Also, I want to protest against the presentation of the entire Payyetanic literature as a literary deterioration. It is deterioration in the same sense as the poetry of Robert Browning. Difficult poetry is not necessarily inferior poetry. The Payyetanim may be hard to understand, but that does not necessarily mean that they all represented literary debasement. On the contrary, some of the greatest Jewish poets of the Middle Ages were Payyetanim, and I think anyone conversant with their poetry must marvel at the wealth and splendor of their style.

There are certain Piyyutim which were written away back in the 6th or 7th century—at the very start of the Payyetanic school, and even now they are marvellous for their beauty and spiritual content. I don't think there is anything finer in the whole liturgy

—nor is anything finer likely to be found even in the revised and up-to-date Prayer Book which so many seem to long for and are anxious to produce—than the ancient Piyyut *Weyethayu*, which we now have in Mr. Zangwill's masterly translation: "All the World Shall Come to Serve Thee." I believe it was Doctor Schechter who called this magnificent poem the Marseillaise of Judaism.

At any rate, I think the time has come to put a stop to this stereotyped depiction of the Payyetanim as men who were instrumental in the depression of the spiritual and the ethical element of the Synagog life, or whose work represented nothing but a deterioration of artistic expression.

Rabbi Gerson B. Levi: I have not much to add to the materials given in the paper itself. There is only the merit and place of the *payetanim* that I would take up. I think I made it clear that there is an essential distinction to be drawn between the styles and materials of the Prayerbook as at present in circulation in many communities. And most assuredly there cannot be a general condemnation of all of the rhymed materials that are included in and make up a considerable section of the prayers for the holidays and the special Sabbaths. But whatever may have been the intentions of the Paytanim, whose works fill the Ashkenazic ritual the result is the same. Their works are characterized by an abstruse formulation of midrashic material beyond the grasp of the even more than ordinarily trained worshipper. This criticism of that section of the Paytanim is not new. Ibn Ezra in his commentary to Ecclesiastes, to the verse "God is in heaven, thou art on earth, let thy words be few", has a searching and scathing criticism of the methods of the Kaliri school of poets, of their artificiality and their obscurities. One detail can be entered to the credit of the Ashkenazic ritual. It included in the services of the ninth day of Ab the zion cycle of poems of the Sephardi Jehudah Halevi. The omission of the cycle in the Sephardic ritual is remarkable. But even the inclusion of this cycle is not enough to obliterate the criticism that may justly be passed on the abstruse compositions of the Kaliri school in the Ashkenazic prayerbook.

G.

HISTORICAL AND SYSTEMATIC RELATIONS OF JUDAISM TO KANT

In Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Immanuel Kant: April 22, 1724—April 22, 1924.

David Neumark

I.

Historical Relations

The question of the contribution of Judaism to the development of Critical Philosophy is a vast subject which cannot be fully treated in a paper. Jewish literature of all ages, the Bible not excluded, contains elements which were helpful in the slow growth of the critical trend of thought (see my articles on the subject in Hathekupha XI, XIV-XV). Here it will be sufficient to mention one central thought of *Philo's* and a few central thoughts in the works of the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages. Philo in his epistemology propounds thoughts which helped the development of critical philosophy. But since he depends here, as in general, on Greek philosophy, especially on Plato and Aristotle, it would lead too far to show wherein his special contribution consists. But there is one point wherein Philo differs with Plato. In his Phaedon Plato proves the immortality of the human soul by proving that it is not an accident, an epiphenomenon on the material substance, but a substance, a spiritual substance, for itself. And as substance is indestructible, the soul is necessarily immortal. This, of course, assures immortality to the wicked as well as to the good. And it is for this reason that Plato

was forced to yield in this question to the eschatological mythologies of the punishment of the souls of the wicked and the rewards to those of the good. And it is in this cardinal point that Philo dissents. He rejects the idea of soul as an indestructible substance. To him only the soul of the good is immortal, while the soul of the wicked vanishes out of reality, and this is its punishment.[1] Now *Mendelssohn* in his modern Phaedon, published prior to Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft, bases his proof for immortality on the idea of Plato that substance is indestructible, but gives a new proof for the doctrine that the soul is a substance: Without the soul as an independent substance, he says, even the sense perceptions would be impossible, as no sense perception can be completed without certain intellectual forms and conceptions. Kant recognized that this thought anticipates to a certain extent the basic thought of his critical philosophy that the categories or intellectual conceptions are instrumental in building up the outside world. And the great, famous Kant gives a prominent place to the words of the Jewish bookkeeper in a Berlin dry goods store who was five years his junior, in his Kritik der reinen Vernunft. Mendelssohn, he contends, has not proven his point. All that his argument proves is that, in order that there be an "ego" with a conception of the outside world, it is necessary that there be, in addition to a general materiality, also a general mentality. The process going on between these two general realities produces, under favorable conditions, what we know as our individual ego. This individual ego, being merely a phenomenon concomitant to the process between the general realities, may vanish into nothing when the conditions under which it came to manifestation have changed and disintegrated.

It is easy to see that the thought by which Kant formulates his own great contribution to critical philosophy is the same as that which Philo formulated in opposition to Plato. Philo, of course, believes in pre-existence of soul, and it may be said that he did nothing to remove the contradiction between this Platonic doctrine and his own idea of destructibility of soul. Kant, on the

[1] Cf. leg. all. II, 74; quod vet. 49f. 75. 78. 141; de sobr. 45; de conf. 21; de fuga 113. 117; quaest. Gen. I, 75; II, 61, a.

other hand, gives the thought of Philo the consistent turn that the individual soul is destructible because its coming into being is but an incidental phenomenon in the cosmic process between the two great realities. But even Kant is not quite consistent in this question when it comes to his theory of the "intelligible" character.[2]

Thus two basic thoughts in Kant's epistemology go back to one ancient and one modern Jewish philosopher. The direct influence of Mendelssohn is evident in the polemics against him in the Kritik der reinen Vernunft. The influence of Philo on Kant is not so evident, but is nevertheless sure. Kant says that his *theory of ideas* (of which we will speak later on) is really the improved theory of ideas of Plato, there being no reason why the theory of an ancient philosopher could not be better understood in a later stage of development of human thought than its originator understood it. It is generally known and admitted that Kant's theory of ideas was the ferment in the formation of his critical epistemology. So we arrived at the *objective fact* that both Philo and Kant modified Plato's theory of ideas in a point which has a decisive bearing on the epistemological problem. Furthermore, it is known what great influence Philo had on the Florentine Academy and on other academies of the Renaissance in which the basic thoughts of critical philosophy were prepared and preformed.[3]

This establishes the relation between Jewish thought and critical philosophy at the two distant ends of Jewish philosophy. But what about the long period between Philo and Mendelssohn? There are *two* questions to be considered. *First,* are there in the works of Jewish philosophers elements which were helpful to the preformation and preparation of critical philosophy! *Second,* if so, through what channels could and did the influence of Jewish philosophy come to Kant?

Answering the first question in the affirmative I will quote a few passages from the works of Jewish philosophers to prove my point: *Israeli* gives us an epistemological interpretation of Plato's theory of ideas in which he describes the process of perception in

[2] Cf. my article in Hathekupha 22.

[3] Cf. Ernst Cassirer: Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit, vol. I Berlin 1906, vol. II 1907, Verlag Bruno Cassirer.

pretty much the same way as we find it in Kant, especially as to the function of phantasy in synthetizing the material impressions. Of course, he depends on previous, also neo-Platonic authorities. But he adds one point which characterizes his theory of knowledge as more critical than any of his predecessors. He conceives the idea of the *infinitesimal* as a method of demonstrating how qualitative impressions convey to the mind quantitative perceptions, a deep thought which Kant uses in the formulation of his "Grundsaetze des Verstandes," or "Principles of the Understanding."[4] *Saadya* fortifies the incorporeal God-conception by an analysis of the process of sense-perception, showing that the intellectual categories have an integral function in the process.[5] He considers the human intellect as the first source of ethical authority, revelation being secondary.[6] He proves the substantiality of the soul from an occurrence (known to him) that a blind man dreams that he sees, which proves that seeing is a function of the soul. It is the soul which is responsible for unity and interaction of the different senses (Em. VI, 3; cf. ibid. ch. I, end). He recognizes that *the esthetical* judgment has its root in man's ethical nature.[7] He is the first to formulate the thought (often emphasized in the "Kritik") that religion, while going part of the way with philosophy, may insist on postulates which philosophy cannot prove, but not disprove, either.[8] He also formulates clearly the thought of God as ens realissimum: The form of reality as they are, correspond to the constitution of man's mentality, but God could manifest himself in infinite varieties of Reality.[9] There are other precritical thoughts in Saadya's works, but I have selected those the bearing of which on critical philosophy is evident without any further analysis to anyone who knows Kant. These thoughts of Saadya are found also in the works of later Jewish philosophers, but I will mention the latter only where

[4] Cf. Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie, vol. I, chapter Israeli.

[5] Emunoth II, Introduction.

[6] Emunoth, Introduction and III,—cf. my essay: Saadya's Philosophy, in H. U. C. Annual, vol. I.

[7] Ibid. X, 18; cf. Kritik der Urteilskraft, 41-42.

[8] Ibid. VII, 1; cf. Kritik der Urteilskraft 91 and Annotation.

[9] Em. 1, 4 end.

they have added some new thoughts or at least some new note to the old ones.

Baḥya illustrates the utter impossibility to approach God by sense-perception by calling attention to the fact that even a material process cannot be fully perceived by the senses. A falling stone calls for the category of *causality* in order to be fully grasped.[10] He distinguishes *two methods* to get at a right God-conception: the *physicoteleological* and the *ethicoteleological,* considering this latter as the starting point, and pointing out that the idea of moral freedom and the moral impulse in man prove the divine nature of man's soul and the existence of a being wise and mighty. He also advises to recognize law, but act as if we were free; law meaning might of nature and God.[11]

So far we quoted from the group of the strictest *monists,* the Saadya-group. The parallels to Kant are even more striking in the group of *dualists,* the Gabirol-group, who believe in two primary eternal realities, God and matter, the latter being dependent on the former only for the form-principle, but independent of him in its naked existence. Kant shares with these philosophers the general dualistic ground, and an influence from this group would be more direct, and more decisive. In fact: God and matter in the system of Gabirol are the two "Dinge an sich" of Kant. The theory of quantity in Gabirol's philosophy is the most striking prototype of Kant's theory of ideality of space. It would lead far afield to show this in detail, but there is one parallel in Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* or מקור חיים which is in itself decisive. In order to prove his theory of the spiritual substances, he presents an analysis of the process of perception. This leads me to interpret Gabirol's upper worlds in the epistemological rather than in the mythological sense. But this question does not have to be discussed here. The fact, however, stands by itself: Gabirol's analysis of the process of perception is so much similar to that of Kant that one needs only to read the two statements to be struck by the

[10] Hoboth I, 10 toward end.

[11] I, 10; ed. Warsaw 1875, p. 85; II, Introduction; ch. 2 end; ch. 5; III, 3, 7; 5 beg.; 6 beg.; chaps. 8-10: freedom; X, 3; cf. Kritik der Urteilskraft, 85-91.

similarity of conception and expression.[12] Also, the much misinterpreted theory of *Will* in the philosophy of Gabirol has a striking parallel in Kant. The Will expresses the tendency of God to associate with matter, as also the tendency of matter to associate with God. This is parallel to Kant's "Schematismus." The two "Dinge an sich," the corporeal and the intellectual, are directed upon each other. This group of Jewish philosophers has given up the rigid aloofness of God from the material world in a greater measure even than ever reached by Kant.

Some of the points in the philosophy of Gabirol are brought out much more clearly by some of his followers:

Hallevi expresses the idea of the unknowable "Ding an sich" in language which may easily be duplicated in the Kritik der reinen Vernunft. "The senses perceive of the perceptibles but their properties, not their substances."[13] "There has not been implanted in the senses a faculty to perceive the substance of the thing, but a specific energy to perceive properties inherent in them, from which the intellect infers their substance and their cause. Only the perfect intellect fathoms the essence and the conception (of the substance). And every active intellect, like angels, comprehends the concepts and the realities in their essences; while our intellect, which originally is potential (only), on account of its being submerged in the *hyle*—cannot fathom the real nature of the things, except in so far as God granted it specific energies which he planted in the senses adapted to the properties of the perceptibles, as they are always inherent in the entire (human) kind."[14] One who remembers Kant's theorem of the difference between the human "Verstand" and the "anschauende Verstand" will marvel at the similarity of thought and expression.[15] And also the idea of God and Matter forming the two realities in the eternal process of things is better expressed by Hallevi than by Gabirol. I have

[12] *Fons Vitae* I, 3-5; II, 3-4; III, 43ff; Munk, Melanges, לקוטים מן ספר מקור חיים I, 5; II, 7; III, 19ff.

[13] Cusari, ed. Hirschfeld, IV, 3, pp. 236-237.

[14] Ibid. pp. 238-239.

[15] Cf. "Kritik," Transcendentale Aesthetik 8 and Analytik der Grundsaetze, drittes Hauptsstueck.

discussed this point in detail in my essay, Jehuda Hallevi's Philosophy in its Principles in H. U. C. Catalog 1908. Also the idea of the ethicotheological method is expressed by Hallevi very clearly. He sums up his book, Cusari, by declaring the idea of moral freedom as the central thought of Judaism to which all other doctrines are in relation of postulates.[16] Moreover, Hallevi shows that the method of Torah and Prophets is to start with the ethicotheological argument (I, 11-25). This, it may be said in passing, reminds us that the method of Kant has indeed its root in that of the early prophets who do not care for the cosmological God-conception, but concentrate all their efforts upon the definition of the ethical God-conception.

Abraham Ibn Daud, another follower of Gabirol, expresses the idea of the reciprocity of function between God and Matter much more clearly and much more definitely than anyone before him: "He (God) also knows that His perfection is not meant for His own essence alone, but in a way that He emanate it upon something else."[17] He, too, makes the idea of moral freedom the center of his system of philosophy, and he, too, formulates his God-conception according to the postulates of the idea of freedom. And as, in his view, the idea of freedom does not require that God have prescience of the deeds of man, he comes to the conclusion that God has no such prescience, but knows only that man is free, which alone is the postulate of freedom.[18]

Maimuni's special contribution to critical philosophy consists in *three* important points:

1. He gives the relation between the postulates of religion and the principles of philosophy a clear and comprehensive formulation achieved by none of his predecessors. In formulating his *Thirteen Principles* he distinguishes clearly between the philosophic and the religious doctrines of Judaism.[19]

2. In discussing the theorem of unity of שכל משכיל ומושכל

[16] V, 20, especially the *six principles* at the end.

[17] Emunah Ramah, p. 93.

[18] Emunah Ramah, p. 93; 96.

[19] Cf. his Introduction to his Commentary to Perek Helek, especially his remarks to the doctrine of *Resurrection;* see my history of Dogmas in Judaism (Hebrew), Odessa, 1919, vol. II, chapter Maimuni.

process, subject and object of thinking, he says that this is true also of sense-perception: There is *unity* of *process, subject and object of sense-perception.*[20] This, I believe, is the nearest pre-Kantian philosophy came to Kant's doctrine of unity of apperception.[21] This is due to the fact that among his predecessors in Jewish philosophy there is none who accepts the theory of *potentiality of soul* as consistently as does Maimuni. According to Maimuni a man may live very long without developing anything like a real soul.[22] All other Jewish philosophers believed in some form of pre-existence of soul, whether eternal or from a certain prenatal phase in the nascence of the individual. This idea of potentiality of soul is not new with Maimuni, it is known as that of Aristotle according to the interpretation of Alexander of Aphrodisias. But there is a vital difference. According to Alexander the individual soul never substantiates, it perishes with the body, while according to Maimuni there is room for individual immortality. And it is the reason for that difference which has a great bearing upon the development of critical philosophy. According to Alexander the body is the accredited reality while the soul is at best an epiphenomenon on it. Not so according to Maimuni. This leads to the third point in Maimuni's critical attitude.

3. In Saadya's Emunoth and, still more clearly and definitely, in Bahya's *Hoboth,* there appears the thought that God is neither substance nor accident on a substance. And, it is clear, what they want to say is: God is neither material nor spiritual substance. But if God is not substance, what is He? It was reserved to Maimuni to carry this thought to its fruitful realization: The philosophic doctrine of unity of process subject and object of thinking receives the following interpretation.[23]

God is thinking, the process of thinking being His essence. This is true also of the human intellect. Moreover, this is true also of sense-perception.[24] Thought out to the end, it is presented

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[20] M. N. I., 68.

[21] Einheit der Apperception—"Kritik," Transcendentale Deduction der reinen Verstandesbegriffe, 17-20.

[22] Cf. M. N. II, 36 and 37, and often.

[23] M. N. I, 68.

[24] See above No. 1.

by Maimuni as his great "secret."[25] The idea of substance as bearer of qualities and properties, and the agent of acts different from it, is entirely given up. There is no substance, neither spiritual nor material. The insistence of our thought that qualities and properties and acts require one substance as an agent and one as a substratum acted upon, is a logical delusion. Reality is the process of thinking. God is the only full reality. There is no reality outside of God. Creation is not an addition to reality, but God in His free will chose to appear in restricted degrees of reality. The degree of reality depends on the degree of thinking. The spirits of the spheres are different degrees of reality. In the sublunar sphere man with his thinking, if it is right thinking with a moral purpose, is the highest degree of reality. All other beings have a degree of reality according to the measure of their psychic faculties, even though they do not reach the manifestation of intellect. The anorganic bodies reveal realities through their qualities and properties which constitute the field of energization of human intellect in the sciences. What appears to us as matter has no positive reality. Matter is *negative*. Its relation to reality, to intellect, is that of darkness, or shade, to light.

This "secret" of Maimuni's had no influence upon Kant, who retains his idea of substance in his two "Dinge an sich," spiritual and material. But the idea of unity of process, subject and object of sense-perception was, or at least, could have been, preformative to Kant's "Einheit der Apperception."

The elements of critical philosophy repeat themselves in the works of Jewish philosophers of the post-Maimunian period. But we will confine ourselves to mentioning that *Ralbag,* or *Gersonides,* who, like all others, missed Maimuni's "secret," goes back to the dualism of the Gabirol group, and works out an epistemological theory which may be considered as preformative to Kant's critical philosophy on the ground of the two "Dinge an sich."[26] And the theory of Ralbag comes nearest to that of Kant especially for the reason that he accepts the theory of Maimuni of potentiality of soul

[25] M. N. Intro. beg.; I 16, 17, 18, 20, 28, 31-35, 37, 44, 46, 49, 52-56, 59-60, 68, 69, 70, 72; II 2, 4-7, 10-12, 18, 19, 22, 26-30; III 1-7, 8-11, 13 end, 15, 17, 5, 5, 18, 51.

[26] Milhamoth, ed. Leipzig, 1866, pp. 73, 77, 83.

in consistent fashion (p. 81). Opposing Maimuni's monism, and missing the "secret," he still adopts his thought which we found preformative to Kant's "Einheit der Apperception," and frames it into Gabirol's dualism. What is missing in his epistemology as compared with Kant's is the deeper critical analysis of the process and the grand aspects and vistas which Kant opens by the orientation in the more developed mathematical and natural sciences of his day.

Now the possibility of Jewish influence upon the development of critical philosophy is beyond a reasonable doubt. The question of the *channels* is not difficult at all:

1. In the question of the ethicotheological method Kant himself refers to Christianity, "that wonderful religion" as his primary source.[27] We know that the thoughts Kant took from Christian literature are in reality the property of Jewish literature from which Christianity adopted them.

2. For his principles of Ethics and Aesthetics Kant refers to the decalog in the following words: "Possibly there is no loftier passage in the lawbook of the Jews than the commandment: Thou shalt not make unto thee an image, nor any likeness, neither of what is in heaven, nor on the earth, nor beneath the earth, etc. This commandment can singly explain the enthusiasm that the Jewish people in its (own) civilized period felt for its religion, when it compared itself with other nations, or that pride that Mohammedanism inspires. The same is also valid of the representation of the moral law and the disposition to morality in us. . . . Where the senses do not see anything more before them, and still the unmistakable and unquenchable idea of morality remains intact, there would rather be need to bridle the swing of an unrestricted imagination, so that it may not soar to enthusiasm, than to look for support of these ideas to images and childish apparatus, for worry about their lack of power."[28]

3. For the epistemological elements which some may be inclined to consider as the most decisive, I refer to the works of M. Joel, Jacob Guttmann, Michael Wittmann and others, on

[27] Kr. d. Urteilskraft, 88 Anm.; 91, Anm. 4.

[28] Kr. d. Urteilskr. 29, Anm., last fourth.

the influence of Jewish philosophy on Christian scholastic philosophy. True, these scholars do not pay special attention to the elements of critical philosophy. But they show that the great scholastic schools of thought, the Franciscan and the Dominican, divided according to Gabirol and Maimuni. It is then easy to assume that Kant, who studied scholastic philosophy so diligently in order to refute its claims and pretensions, was influenced greatly by the copious quotations from Gabirol and Maimuni found in the works of Thomas of Aquine, Albertus Magnus, William of Auvergne, and others.

4. Then, too, there were Latin translations of the works of Gabirol and Maimuni, Gabirol's Fons Vitae going even under a non-Jewish name. Kant may have read these books.

5. Another channel is *Spinoza*: Spinoza's *Parallelism,* contained in the famous sentence: Ordo et connectio idearum sunt idem ac ordo et connectio rerum (order and connection of the ideas are identical with order and connection of the things—Ethics II, 7), is an important link in the development of critical philosophy. This being admitted by the greatest authorities on Kant, it needs no discussion here, and I confine myself to mentioning that the influence of Jewish philosophy on Spinoza has been discussed and established by many writers on the subject.[29]

6. Finally: *Mendelssohn* in the Forword to his Phaedon, the very book with which Kant discusses the fundamental thought of critical philosophy, submits the declaration that he owes to the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages so much that he cannot give them credit for detailed utterances of theirs that may be found in his book. He is their disciple, and he uses their utterances as that of his teachers.

This *most direct* channel in itself is sufficient to establish firmly the direct historical relation of Judaism to Kant.

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[29] Luzatto, Joel and others; cf. also my essay, Crescas and Spinoza, Yearbook C. C. A. R., 1909.

II.

Systematic Relations

A systematic development of Jewish philosophy on the ground of critical philosophy necessarily will concern itself chiefly with the *three ideas* common to Judaism and Kant: *Freedom, God,* and *Immortality.* But first we must attend to the ontological situation. Historically speaking Kant's critical philosophy is based on an ontological *dualism* like that of the Gabirol-group. Kant's two "Dinge an sich" are really the same as God and matter in the Gabirol-group. But we, monotheists, the sons of monotheists, naturally side with Maimuni's strict monotheism and monism. On the other hand, Maimuni's idea of matter being negative is not acceptable, for *two* reasons. The idea does not convey a definite meaning. Secondly, we cannot get along with strict monism. Morality and ethics mean nothing, if there is only one uniform manifestation of reality. If there is to be freedom and morality and religion there must be some split in the strict unity. There must be some dualism. As monotheists we cannot consider absolute dualism, but we must consider at least phenomenal dualism. We take from Maimuni the idea that there is no substance but process, but we reject his idea of the negativity of matter. We rather cling to his idea of unity of process, subject and object of sense-perception. There are, then, *two kinds of processes,* mental processes and material processes. These two kinds of processes make up all reality, God. There is no fear of corporealizing God, as there is no substance. The realization of the taste "sweet" or the color "green" is just as much a process-reality, as the realization of those categories and concepts which make up our mental frame. God is the sum total of these processes, but not in the sense of pantheism, but in the sense of a conscious personal being. Moreover we come first to our scientific God-conception through the idea of conscious personality. Let us dispose for a moment of all our inherited notions of substance, material and spiritual. What is reality? I mean reality pure and simple without added explanation. The assumption of spiritual

and material substances are evidently hypothetical additions in order to explain reality, to name the source whence it comes, or, as Kant has it, to name the thing "that appears." Let us not ask these questions. We must take our realities as final, they are with us, in us, identical with our very being. What is our very ego? A combination of sense-processes and mental-processes. What makes you think we need an explanation for that reality? Why look for substances and involve yourself in difficulties, and end up by saying that these "Dinge an sich" are unknowable? Why posit them, if you must declare them as absolutely unknowable?

At a recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Cincinnati, Prof. Chamberlin of the Geological Department of the University of Chicago, reduced the most characteristic result of scientific investigation of the last seventy-five years to the following sentence: "Before we dealt with a bundle of matter, now we deal with a bundle of energy." Indeed, in an age when scientists convert the familiar objects around us, nay our very bodies, and those of them whom we love and of them whom we hate, into electrical, radioactive, and gravitational fields, under different systems of coordinates—in such an age it should not be difficult to get rid of the notion of substance. In the age of *Einstein,* no matter how much we understand of his theories of relativity (he has two of them), it should be possible for religious, ideally inclined men to get rid of the logical delusion of substance, and live in the immediate reality which is theirs.

There is only one question which we must face, and this leads us to the problem of God. There is no reason why we should inquire into the sources of our realities. We take them as final. But can we take our own ego, our conscious self, as a final ontological datum, as we take sound, color and taste and touch, and the mental concepts in which they are framed? Of course, we could, but there is one obstacle. Our conscious self is accompanied by a negative time-feeling, has a *beginning,* and this makes it difficult for us to take it as a final ontological datum. It evidently is a part-process in the comprehensive cosmic combi-

nation of the two kinds of processes. This comprehensive cosmic process is God, and man's self-conscious ego is but an incident in this large process. Thus our first step in the realization of our ego sets us in contact with God. I have expounded this view in my essay "Spirit" in the second issue of the Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy, and in my Hebrew book "A Jewish System in Critical Philosophy."[30] There I have discussed the problems of time and space and all other problems connected with our subject. Those who are interested will read it there. Here I will confine myself to the question, how from our point of view we may improve upon Kant's proofs for God and Immortality.

Kant, after having developed the ethicotheological proof for the existence of God, stresses again the point that such proof is only practical, but not theoretical. The idea of freedom is a practical reality, it is given to us in the moral law, the categorical imperative. If moral freedom is a reality, also God and Immortality are realities. Morality, says Kant in his argument against *Spinoza*,[31] requires that there be a divine providence that arranges the universe in a way that the law of freedom works, and that rewards those who innnocently suffer in this world, with immortality. Kant insists that this evidence is valid only for the reflective reason, but not for the theoretical reason. He explains: All theoretical elements of proof may be divided into four categories: 1, strict logical proof; 2, proof by *analogy;* 3, probable opinion; 4, hypothesis. Kant proceeds to show that none of these four modes of theoretical proof can be applied to prove theoretically the truth of the ideas of God and immortality. The reasons for this inadequacy are: *first,* all our data are taken from *this* world, and there can be no theoretically valid inference upon a being *outside* this world; *second,* all all our data are accredited by our senses, while we try to get to conclusions concerning a being that is above sense-perception.[32]

Now, these two objections have no place in our ontological orientation. God is not outside the world, and sense-processes are part of reality, and God to us is the sum total of reality. Nevertheless, we do not mean to say that the ethicotheological proof conveys to us a theoretically absolutely valid proof.

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[30] Appearing now in the current issues of "Hatoren".

[31] Kr. d. Urteilskraft 73, 85, 87.

[32] Ibid. 90.

The entire procedure by which we come to a scientific God-conception must be gone over anew. We have (in the essay "Spirit") divided the mental elements into three classes: 1. *Primary elements,* or categories; 2, *Systematic elements,* or the *scientific* data of knowledge, and 3, the *elements of freedom.* For our purpose here it recommends itself to divide the third class into two subdivisions, into the *intellectual* and *the moral* elements of freedom. These four divisions are easily identified as four phases corresponding to the four kinds of proof presented by Kant, but in the reverse order. No matter how the God-idea actually comes to nations and individuals—there are many types of development in the history of the God-conception (cf. Baḥya)—the scientific way of developing the evidence for the existence of God, begins with the lowest degree of evidence and grows in power and meaning until it reaches the highest possible degree of evidence, that of strict logical syllogism:

1. *Hypothesis*: We know from experience that self-consciousness is a matter of growth and degree. We can distinguish in ourselves stages of *minimum-consciousness* and *maximum-consciousness.* There is even a compelling reason for the idea of a cosmic maximum-consciousness as the bearer of the individual self-consciousness. We ourselves have, each one of us, a maximum-consciousness as bearer of our different limited stages of consciousness. And when we are puzzled by that negative time-feeling, that our ego has a beginning, what else can it mean than that our ego is a limited phase of consciousness, incidental to the maximum-consciousness which is comprehensive and as constantly increasing as the two kinds of processes which in their interaction make up reality. Thus the first stage of our self-consciousness in which we realize only the most indispensable mental elements, the self-consciousness concomitant to sense-perception, suggests to us a maximum-consciousness to which our little ego is merely incidental. But it must be admitted that this inference remains an hypothesis. The negative time-feeling that accompanies our realization of our ego in the stage of sense-perception, may in spite of the plausibility of the idea of the maximum-consciousness, be as final an ontological datum as any other of

the processes which make up our self-consciousness. There is no absolute logical necessity to ask for an explanation.

2. *Opinion*: The necessity of positing the maximum-consciousness is considerably enhanced when we consider the *scientific* cognition of things. In this we do not have to confine ourselves to organized things which suggest a peculiar teleological argument, as does Kant in the main. Every scientific cognition in mathematics, physics, astronomy, and other sciences elevates the hypothesis of the maximum-consciousness to the degree of a *scientific hypothesis*. The higher the degree of the scientific consciousness of man, the higher the degree of the verisimilitude of the hypothesis of the maximum-consciousness. But if, in spite of this high degree of plausibility and verisimilitude, we do not consider this evidence as an absolute logical proof, it is because the denier still may contend that even our most developed scientific consciousness must be taken as a final ontological datum that neither calls for, nor admits of any explanation.

3. *Analogy*: The analogy is based on the teleological idea. The universe shows purpose, plan and intention in all organized things, and in the unity which embraces the separate units in harmoniously interdependent functions. Kant considers here the consciousness of the individual ego in its passive phase only. But if we consider also the active phase of it, as it manifests itself in human actions which further or hinder nature's spontaneous growth and development, as in cross-breeding and the like, and especially in *scientific experiments,* then the degree of the certitude of the existence of the maximum-consciousness is indeed very high. We do not consider here yet the ethical valuation of such human activity, but the intellectual *freedom* manifest in such activity is sufficiently urgent to enforce the hypothesis of the existence of that maximum-consciousness which we call *God*. In fact, if we sum up *all* scientific activities of the human race of our own generation, the maximum-consciousness is as near a reality as any that is given to us.

Our scientific age should, indeed, recognize the reality of God more firmly and more devoutly than any of the preceding ages. If every single natural law is an expression of plan and

purpose, the harmony revealed in the great scientific discoveries is indeed an immediate incontrovertible evidence of the existence of the maximum-consciousness. Kant recognizes the great power of this physicoteleological argument, but he shrinks back before the two great objections that the analogy infers from the intellect in the world upon an intellect *outside* the world, and from an intellect connected with sense-perception upon one above sense-perception. Thus in our orientation where these two objections are meaningless and void, the analogy is so strong as to make us feel not only the "nighness of God," as the exalted religious expression goes, but God himself in all his glory. And still, we cannot deny the right of the denier. He still may claim that even this intellectual freedom does not warrant the hypothesis of the maximum-consciousness. He cannot deny any more that this hypothesis is of great help even in the study of nature, and cannot deny us the right to use it as a regulative in our study of nature, but he can claim that we have not proven the absolute necessity of such a being. He still may claim that each case of natural law is given to us as a final ontological datum, and there is no need to pay attention to the harmony manifest in the interdependent functions which suggest the idea of teleological plan and purpose.

4. *Strict Syllogism*: If, in addition to the intellectual, we consider also the ethical freedom, and consider the ethical valuation of human activities, then there is a way for the strict syllogistical proof for the existence of God. When we realize that all reality is an ethical affair, that all our sense-perceptions, and all our scientific cognition, and all our scientific activity are but the field of conditions where our moral nature reveals itself, both for good and for evil—if we consider all this, we are indeed in possession of a strict logical proof for the existence of God. It all depends on the degree of reality the moral law, the ethical, and, consequently, also the intellectual freedom, has in our hearts. Those who realize freedom, *have* an absolute, theoretically valid proof for the existence of God. The only restriction we have to place upon this proof is that its cogency depends on the recognition of the idea of moral freedom. And it is here that we

differ most essentially with Kant who, on account of his two objections, denies the theoretical validity of this proof even for him who admits the reality of the idea of freedom. The fact, however, that freedom may be and is being denied by many, is not a sign of weakness for the idea of freedom and the other ideas based thereon. Quite to the contrary: the moral nature of the world requires as one of its ontological conditions that there be the possibility of not realizing freedom, and that there be different degrees of that realization. It is true, to him who does not realize freedom, we cannot give a firm hold on God. But there is one thing we can do for him: We can educate him to the realization of freedom. This is something like the educational procedure suggested by Baḥya: Let man act as if he were free.[33] And when we have educated him (or he has educated himself) to ethical freedom, then we will prove to him the existence of God, and make him firm and enduring in ethical and religious conduct.

Soul: From this orientation on the God-conception there is an open path into the problem of soul and immortality. Kant confines himself to the general thought that the idea of plan and purpose requires that there be immortality as reward for those good people who suffer innocently in this world. As a matter of fact, this postulate of his really reverts to the Mendelssohn idea of the individual soul-substance. Kant therefore denies this postulate theoretical validity, even more emphatically than to the God-conception. From our point of view, however, the idea of immortality is not as difficult as within the substance theory of Kant. The maximum-consciousness is not a closed reality, it is growing and getting richer in content and dignity. Every new individual who lived a moral-intellectual life has enriched the maximum-consciousness. This immortality, not being immortality of substance, is not burdened by those objections which are usually advanced against immortality. Immortality in our orientation does not mean the existence of a soul-substance without a body-substance, as there is no substance at all. Immortality means a con-

[33] Compare Kant's famous "als ob"—on which Prof. Hans Vaihinger, Halle a. S., wrote a most comprehensive and instructive book.

tinuation of consciousness within the never-ceasing interaction of the two kinds of processes. Does the individual realize his identity after death? From a strictly philosophic point of view there may be no such postulate. From a religious point of view there seems to be such a postulate. And here, too, our new ontological orientation leaves room for the hope of the ages. Our soul at all times is a combination of souls. With us lives our childhood soul, the soul of our period of adolescence, of maturing youth, of early manhood, the soul of the late twenties, of the early thirties, and so on. They are to each other in the relation of minimum-consciousness to maximum-consciousness. And no matter into how many units you split up your soul at any given time, each one of these units is a living being for itself. And the flimsiest phase of one's soul may suddenly become a very actual and a very active soul. The phenomena of double and multiple personalities, baffling within the substance theory, is easily understood within our orientation. This has a bearing on the question of immortality. All individuals, who so lived as to enrich the maximum-consciousness, may live on in their individual identity within it, as live the component personalities in a multiple personality.

There are many problems to be treated from this new outlook. I have treated the most important of them in the afore-mentioned new book. Others I may be privileged to treat in days yet to come. In this paper I wanted only to touch upon the most central problems.

I hope this paper proves the thesis:

Kant was greatly influenced and helped by Jewish thought, and Judaism today can learn much from Kant in its onward march to new vigor and new strength.

H.

A REVALUATION OF REFORM JUDAISM

INTRODUCTION

KAUFMAN KOHLER

It ought to day no longer be denied that Reform Judaism, which rallied the progressive elements in Germany, came as a saving force at a time when religion was at a decline, and apostasy had become almost epidemic among the higher classes. The assertion made by its detractors that Reform is nothing but the outcome of convenience and levity in disregard of the traditional laws and customs, or that it arose from a mere desire for social assimilation may be dismissed as a wilful slander. As a matter of fact, the Reform movement roused Orthodoxy itself from its medieval slumber, warning it that in adhering to its Ghetto form and spirit it will lapse into utter stagnation and decay. The changed conditions of the new era demanded reforms everywhere, though the people were not yet ripe for a systematic reform. The first attempts at innovation were made to improve the mode of worship by a better decorum in the Synagog and better methods of education in the school, and these led to a wise consideration of the needs of the girl together with those of the boy. This gave the impulse to the elevating rite of confirmation, soon also adopted by numerous Conservative congregations. And so followed, step by step, the introduction of the sermon and of prayers in the vernacular, of the organ and choral song. In other words, aesthetic and linguistic reforms lent the Synagog an unforeseen attractive and impressive character. They gave Judaism a modern aspect,

calling forth the jealousy and opposition of the reactionaries from without and from within. Still these exterior measures did not touch the spirit, nor deserve the name of Reform Judaism. Only the earnest endeavor to so interpret the heritage of the past for an enlightened generation as to make the people realize that, although they can no longer accept or observe the views and practices of their fathers who for centuries lived in seclusion from the world, they still hold fast to the same ancestral faith in a rejuvenated form. Only an inner reconciliation of the ancient truth with modern thought could bring about what has since been called Reform Judaism. This has been explicitly stated by Samuel Holdheim, the most radical of the German Reform pioneers in the Introduction to his History of the Jewish Reform Congregation of Berlin, written in 1854. There, in a footnote to page 11, he makes the remarkable confession that it was Zunz's epoch-making work, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vortraege* of 1832, in which stress is laid on the spirit of piety and the living force of religion as constituting the intrinsic power of Reform, that led him—the former conservative Talmudist—upon the road of Reform. But it was mainly Abraham Geiger who, with his profound historical research into the entire Jewish past, biblical and rabbinical, offered the scientific impulse and basis to systematic reform, observing, as he did, that Judaism throughout the ages formed a continuous process of evolution and growth, both theoretical and practical, and while the former centuries were less conscious of this process, we today with our larger horizon and our deeper apperception of the laws of historical progress, work with a clear purpose for reform. Thus for Geiger and his compeers, Reform Judaism became the name expressive of the principle of Reform and Progress as justified by history, in contrast to the stability of orthodoxy, which claimed the immutability of the Torah both in its written form and its oral interpretation as having come down from Mount Sinai. It is, accordingly, utterly erroneous to speak, as so many do, of a Reformed Judaism, as if the Reform leaders had ever intended to create a schism, a new system of religion or creed fixed and final, such as is the Reformation of Luther, Calvin and Wesley. An attempt of this kind was made by the

"Society of the Friends of Reform" in Frankfurt on the Main in 1842, consisting only of laymen, who, while declaring the Mosaic religion to be capable of continuous development, wanted to abrogate circumcision and other Jewish practices and abolish altogether the authority of the Talmud, while setting up a creed of their own. The movement, however, was at once fiercely denounced and refuted by the Reform theologians who emphatically, in their various utterances, declared Reform Judaism to be the logical outcome of the historic conditions which change with time and environment, affecting the view and the practice, while in regard to the essentials it will ever remain loyal to the past, to the Torah as "the heritage of the Congregation of Jacob."

Neither can the name Liberal Judaism, which is now in vogue, be accepted as a substitute. It is altogether too vague and arbitrary. With some it denotes a certain reduction of the old ceremonies and traditional prayers or a dropping of the non-Mosaic festivals and the like; with others, as with Claude G. Montefiore in his recent work "The Old Testament and After", p. 565, it is nothing less than the *"harmony of the Law and the Gospels"*. In the one case it makes allowance for the old synagogal prayers for the restoration of the Temple with its sacrificial cult and for the resurrection of the Jew, though they belie the conviction of the enlightened modern Jew; in the other case, concessions are made to a creed which totally differs from our monotheistic faith, and which for more than eighteen hundred years stood out as a hostile force to Jew and Judaism, sowing hatred instead of fostering the spirit of justice, of love and humanity in the name of God, the Father of mankind. Reform Judaism stands firmly and positively for principles, the principle of liberalism and loyalty, for progress and steadfast continuity with the past, for the One Revelation of God as recorded in our Scriptures and the one undivided humanity which is finally to share in our truth, for the God of righteousness and the God of love, but above all, for the covenant of Sinai which never grows *old!* Liberal Judaism, however, often wavers and halts between the two sides.

Let us now see whether the name American Judaism should

be used, with omission of the characteristic epithet Reform? It is true, American Judaism has features of its own which distinguishes it from German or English or Russian Judaism, just as Hellenic and Babylonian Judaism differed from each other. But this applies to Orthodoxy as well as to Reform Judaism. America with its broadness of view, its practical common sense and large-hearted tolerance, its freedom and independence, which places democracy and progress above the authority of the past, has been influencing all religious denominations and systems of thought, and it naturally created a more congenial atmosphere for our Reform, whereas the reactionary powers in Europe did their best to restrain or suppress it. But after all, the majority of Jews in America do not subscribe to our principle of progress. In fact it was not recognized before the German Reform ideas were carried across the ocean to take root first among the cultured and progressive yet at the same time deeply religious laymen of the Congregation Beth Elohim, of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1826. Following the lead of Isaac Harby, they formed a Reform Society which, independent of all rabbinical authority, set up a few articles of faith based upon the Scriptures, discarding the belief in a coming Messiah, and introduced a Prayerbook of their own, composed in classical English, in which all references to a return to Palestine, the restoration of the sacrificial cult and to the Resurrection were omitted, their worship being conducted with uncovered heads. Owing to lack of competent leadership, the society was shortlived. Congregation Beth Elohim was reorganized by Gustav Poznanski in 1836 after the pattern of the Hamburg Reform Temple, and when, in 1841, the new synagog was dedicated by him, he went so far as to declare: "This land is our Palestine; this city, our Jerusalem, and this house of worship, our Temple." His temporary success gave rise to the formation of a Reform Society in Baltimore in 1842, which became later the Har Sinai Congregation, of which David Einhorn became the leader in 1855, and of a similar Reform Society in New York which assumed the name Temple Emanuel and in 1845 engaged Dr. Merzbacher as leader. Isaac M. Wise, then rabbi of the Congregation at Albany, also came in personal touch

with Poznanski on a visit to Charleston before he started his reform measures. Poznanski, however, possessed neither the power nor the acknowledged authority to achieve lasting results.

The great task of giving the Reform movement in America permanence, dignity and far-reaching dominance was assigned by Providence to Isaac M. Wise and David Einhorn, the two heroic leaders so widely differing in temperament and training, in point of view and purpose, yet working in self-consecration for the same cause, each in his own way, the one the man of action, the other the man of unswerving allegiance to the Reform principles. Dr. Wise, the born leader of men, with his complete mastery of English and his wondrous resourcefulness and indefatigability as preacher and writer, followed the vision of a united American Israel which guided him at the outset, and he pursued this object of his life in the earlier stages of his career, willing at times to compromise on matters of doctrine in order to bring about the desired union, as was shown by his Talmudic platform at the Cleveland conference and by his Minhag America. With his organizing talent, however, he achieved his glorious task later on as the founder of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of the Hebrew Union College and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, to receive from the hand of history the crown of leadership of the entire progressive American Jewry. Dr. Einhorn, the uncompromising standard-bearer of Reform Judaism and accomplished German scholar, little understood by the English-speaking multitude, fought with the zeal of an Elijah for the cardinal principles of Reform and the heaven-born freedom of man against slavery, and finally, after a long and bitter conflict which marked the storm and stress period of American Reform, succeeded in having his principles adopted at the Philadelphia Conference of 1869, which was also attended by Dr. Wise and Dr. Lilienthal. He had embodied these principles in his Prayerbook, which afterward became the basis for the Union Prayerbook adopted by the Atlantic City Conference in 1893 under the Presidency of Dr. Wise. It is not necessary to dwell on the platform of American Reform Judaism adopted by the Pittsburgh Conference in 1885, which aroused the fierce opposition and protest of the Conservatives

and led to the foundation of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in opposition to the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. Nor need the numerous Reform measures agreed upon by the later rabbinical Conferences be referred to here, except to point out the inadequacy of the name American Judaism. The Reform principle, which implies continuous progress, ever remained in force, and will remain so, until the goal of Reform Judaism is reached, which, far from being confined to *one* land, is world-wide, having in view both the perpetuation and propagation of Israel's world-redeeming and world-conquering truth as the fulfillment of the Messianic hope and mission. Nor did, or does, Reform Judaism ever mean to be a secession from the rest, but as has often been said, it merely wants to form, like the Jordanic tribes of Israel, the vanguard of the people on their march to the land of divine promise, which to us is not Palestine as the Nationalists maintain, but the Zion of humanity, a world united by Israel's Only One God!

Whether multiform and much divided American Israel will ever consolidate and coalesce into a uniform American Judaism, is a matter of great doubt and beyond our control. The great problem which we have to solve in our days is to find new and more efficacious ways of implanting our sublime faith and our glorious hope and confidence in the future into the generation brought up under the present American conditions, in view of the fact that the former zeal and idealism of the founders of our Reform Congregations have vanished to make place for a deplorable lethargy and to a materialism which no longer heeds the sacred inheritance of our fathers. Indeed, the main issue today is no longer between Orthodoxy and Reform, but between a world *with* or a world *without* God, and the question is how to counteract the intellectualism and outward culturalism which pervades our entire educational and social system by a strong appeal to our emotional nature, to the spiritual needs of man. We need a constructive force of a more conservative, rather than liberalizing, tendency in our religious life, one that draws the youth, especially the enlightened youth, again to the Synagog as the center of Judaism. Yet this can only be brought about by certain Reform methods, by a regeneration of our divine

service which makes it attractive, instructive and impressive for the young generation. Minimize the reading of lengthy Hebrew passages which are unintelligible to the great majority of worshipers and have more lessons of a real devotional character such as stir the soul that hungers and thirsts after the living God and bring our hearts into closer communion with the spirit of the Most High.

However much good has been accomplished by our Sunday services, which aroused a new interest in, and a warmer love for our religion in many that had been estranged from us all these years, the historical Sabbath remains for us the day of the Lord, and since most of our business and professional men are of necessity kept away from the divine service on this day, all the more must we make every possible effort to have our women and children made active participants in the same. To this end our Religious School should be brought into closer connection with the Synagog, and our children should be trained first of all to choral song instead of having all the singing left to a non-Jewish choir, and likewise to responses. As the Shabuoth festival was saved from falling into abeyance by the Confirmation—which by the way, ought to be the annual renewal of the Sinai Covenant by the entire Congregation and not a mere parade of the children—so might the last Sukkoth day be rendered an actual feast of Joy with the Torah by having it made the solemn Opening Day of the school year, just as the first Sukkoth day has in many Synagogs been rejuvenated by the children's procession with the various plants of the land.

Along such lines did American Reform Judaism work ever since we became conscious of our task and responsibility for the world at large, realizing that, like Joseph of yore, American Israel has been sent to this God-blessed land of liberty and opportunity, not merely to feed our starving brethren abroad and promote their economic welfare, but more so to preserve their threatened spiritual life, the soul of Judaism, their faith in God and their hope for humanity.

But after all, our Reform must not be confined to the Synagog. Our home must again be made what it was, the sanctuary of piety. Of course, this great duty devolves first

of all on the mother. She must again teach her child to recite its morning and evening prayer and say the grace at every meal. But what lent the Jewish home at all time its beauty of holiness was the ceremonial system so rich in elevating power, and since these old traditional forms have lost their appealing force, Reform has to step in and replace them by more attractive ones. A good beginning was made by the late Dr. Berkowitz with his Sabbath Eve Kiddush, and recently by the Anglisized Passover Haggadah, though in my estimation it is not American enough in the spirit in which the little known Haggadah of Dr. Einhorn was composed by its German author. Well did Prof. Lazarus in his *Treu und Frei* recommend the reintroduction of the parental blessing at each family reunion on Sabbath and Holy Day Eve to bring the heart of the children near to their parents and the hearts of the parents to the children. And have we done all we could to kindle the spirit of Chanukkah and the pride in our heroic past in our children at their homes in the face of the alluring Christmas tree with its radiating splendor? All our festivals ought to offer their peculiar charm to susceptible youth to awaken the sentiment of loyalty and love in them anew. And what about the almost forgotten lesson of reverence which is the beginning of all religion? True reform begins at home. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground!" was the initiatory lesson of reverence given by God to Moses. Let this lesson of reverence be offered in every home. "The best in man," says Goethe, "is his awe which makes him feel in his innermost depth the Infinite, the tremendously Holy."

I.

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF REFORM JUDAISM

H. G. ENELOW

The centenary of the first Jewish Reform congregation in America—at Charleston, South Carolina—comes at a time when it seems especially desirable to evaluate afresh the meaning and the purpose of Reform Judaism, as well as its achievements and prospects.

No unbiased person will deny that Reform Judaism has played an important part in the life of the Jews both here and abroad, and perhaps even in the religious—the ethical and spiritual—life of the non-Jewish community. Nevertheless, we have witnessed in recent years a considerable amount of criticism of Reform Judaism, emanating not only from its opponents, but even from such as are supposed to be connected with it, to have grown up under its influence and to speak under its auspices.

A collection of all the charges leveled against Reform Judaism would form a curious, though not delectable, anthology. Briefly, it has been asserted that Reform Judaism is neither Jewish nor Reform. It is not Jewish, they say, because it is unlike anything known as Judaism in the past. And it is not Reform, because, they maintain, Reform in Religion usually means a return to original doctrines and forms, which, they assert, is by no means the case with Reform Judaism. Reform Judaism, we are admonished apodictically, is nothing but "a bundle of negations", and its negative nature is alleged to show itself particularly in its lack of a consistent theory. "What is the theory of Reform,

anyhow?" I was asked the other day by an eminent Jewish scholar. What they miss in Reform Judaism is a strong theoretical foundation, without which, of course, a religious structure is impossible.

This is just where, we feel, the critics of Reform Judaism are mistaken. It would be easy to retaliate (as unfortunately some do) with a cheap flouting of theory. It would be easy to dismiss the value of theory to the religious life, after the modern manner of asserting that Religion is Life and not Theory. This has become the favored method of religionists *à la mode,* of the untheological, or anti-theological, theologians. Religion, they say, is Action, not Theory. The attempt to know God they treat with disdain, regarding it as a sort of "spiritual snobbery". Even prayer, they prophesy, by and by shall count for little in Religion. With John Davidson, the ecstatic but atheistic poet, they shout:

"This alone, this always, will succeed,
The miracle and magic of the deed."

Nevertheless, the old question still stands (if I may quote the verse homiletically): "When the foundations are destroyed, what shall the righteous do?" *Ki ha-shathoth ycharesun zaddiq ma paal.*

That a certain mode of action, a certain kind of conduct, constitutes the aim of Religion, is undoubtedly true. That conduct is three-fourths of life, is an epigram Matthew Arnold may have gained from his Jewish studies. That action marks the character and the purpose of Judaism, was known long before Dr. Martin Buber began to expound it in his fervid phrases. But we must not forget that Judaism is not the only doctrine implying action, conducive to conduct. This is something that springs from every other doctrine: be it Buddhism or Bolshevism, Qaraism or Dadaism. What counts is the kind of conduct designed or developed by a religion, and that, of course, depends on its fundamental theories, on its basic ideas concerning those themes which make the soul and substance of the religion in question and of the community of its devotees.

When Martin Buber tries to prove that in Judaism deed rather than belief has always held the first place—outward achievement rather than inner experience—he puts the cart before the horse. Even in ancient times, he asserts, what stood at the centre of Jewish Religion was not belief but deed. His ardor for his own idea even emboldens him to formulate dogmatically the fundamental difference between the Orient and the Occident. For the Oriental, he announces, deed is the decisive means of union between man and God; for the Occidental, it is belief. Thus, he turns the tables unceremoniously on a world accustomed to appraise Orient and Occident in the very opposite terms. No wonder, he adds (as if he were a popular preacher), we hear in the Bible so little about belief, and so much about deed.

One need not argue with Dr. Buber about his cock-sure differentiation between Oriental and Occidental: this, one may leave to the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. But what he says about the Jew and the Bible is unconvincing, though impassioned. The Jew may be by nature more motory than sensory, as Dr. Buber would have it; but what has moved the Jew, from the beginning to this day, has been belief. His deeds have sprung from his creed. Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, the Psalmists—all are heroes of belief, as are the uncounted Jews and Jewesses who from age to age have laid down their lives for Judaism.

Dr. Buber is all wrong on this point. As he is fond of quotations, it is a pity he has not run across certain pertinent passages in rabbinic literature. "Great is belief in the eyes of the Creator," say the rabbis, "for it was because of the belief of the Israelites (at the time of the Exodus) that the Holy Spirit rested upon them and they lived to sing the song of victory; as it is written: 'And they believed in God and in Moses, His servant: then sang Moses and the children of Israel'." Similarly, according to the rabbis, our forefathers were redeemed from Egypt thanks to their belief only; as it is written: "And the people believed." Also, Abraham, say the rabbis, inherited both this world and the world to come by virtue of his belief. Moreover, they assure us, "the final redemption will come only through

belief; for it is written: 'And I shall betroth thee unto me by belief, by faith, and thou shalt know the Lord.' Likewise, it is written: 'With me, thou wilt come, O Bride, when thou comest from Lebanon,—when thou gazest from the summit of Faith. *Itti me-Lebanon kallah tashuri me-rosh Amanah.*'"

The old rabbis seem to have interpreted the soul of the Jew more truly than the modern man of letters, in spite of their unfamiliarity with our present-day psychological diction. *Yesod ha-abodah hu ha-emunah,* asserts R. Zerachiah, in his *Sepher Ha-Yashar,* "the foundation of religious activity lies in belief", and he adds: "Neither can you find belief save in religious activity, nor religious activity save in the quest of wisdom: each is related to the other". Here, I believe, we have the true Jewish doctrine.

Conduct, after all, follows theory. "A man is more or less perfect," Spinoza reminds us, "according to the nature or perfection of the thing which he loves above everything else." For this reason, he adds, "Our highest good and our happiness are summed up in the knowledge and the love of God." On this truth no one dwells more often and more emphatically than does Maimonides in both his "Recapitulation of the Law" and his "Guide." Love of God, he insists, is interrelated with knowledge of God. "Comprehension is according to Love, and according to the nature of Love will be the Work." *Ha-ahabah hi kephi ha-hasagah we-ahar ha-ahabah tihye ha-abodah.* This is why certain rabbis held that as between Study and Practice, Study was the more important. *Talmud mebi l'yde maase*: mastery of the theory of Religion, and its adoption, is calculated to bring about religious conduct.

It would mark a fatal weakness in Reform Judaism if it were true that it is merely a bundle of convenient negations, of accidental exercises, devoid of any consistent convictions and central ideas. Fortunately, this is not the case. Any reader of the history of Reform Judaism—whether Dr. Philipson's standard work, or Dr. Caesar Seligmann's recent exposition in German, or Dr. Simon Bernfeld's impartial (certainly not pro-Reform)

book in Hebrew,—must realize that what went to make Reform Judaism was not merely external conditions and fortuitous circumstances, but rather certain definite ideas, convictions, concerning Religion in general and Judaism in particular. It is true that the first modern efforts toward Reform in Judaism are usually represented as having been made by practical men in response to the practical needs of the new times, regardless of theoretic considerations. It is true that it has become customary to point out—in a spirit of challenge or self-defense, as the case may be—that laymen, and not rabbis, were the founders of the first Reform societies. It is true, moreover, that the theoretical formulation and vindication of Reform Judaism formed a sort of second stage in the history of the movement, with the appearance of Geiger and Holdheim and their fellow-workers. But this does not affect the general question. Whether the theoretical foundations of Reform Judaism were defined in 1815, when Israel Jacobson held the first Reform services in Berlin, or in 1840, when Abraham Geiger preached his inaugural sermon in Breslau, is of small consequence.

Besides, I regard it as a conventional error to assume that the early pioneers of Reform Judaism—the so-called practical men—had no theory on the subject—if we use the word "theory" in what Mr. George Santayana calls its noblest sense: "a steady contemplation of all things in their order and worth." This is an assumption we have grown in the habit of repeating mechanically. In reality, who may rightly say that Israel Jacobson, or the founders of the Hamburg Temple, or the organizers of the Berlin Fellowship, or those of the Charleston Congregation, had no theory whatever concerning Judaism and its function in their own lives? Their ideas may not have been set forth with all the learning of a Geiger or the acuity of a Holdheim, but they did not fail to realize what they were doing, nor were they ignorant men. "We want positive Religion," proclaimed the founders of the Berlin Fellowship for Reform: "We want Judaism." "We hold fast to the spirit of the Sacred Scriptures, which we recognize as witnesses of the Divine Revelation. We hold fast to everything that belongs to genuine divine worship rooted in the

spirit of our Religion. We hold fast to the conviction that the divine doctrine of Judaism is the eternally true one and to the promise that this doctrine shall become the possession of all mankind. But we want to construe the Scriptures according to their divine spirit and not after the letter." Similarly, as Dr. Philipson has pointed out, the champions of Reform at Charleston were prompted by certain principles, summed up in their comprehensive creed, and not merely by an esthetic impulse—though, by the way, even the esthetic emotion has its place in Judaism, not only according to Saadya who insisted (as Dr. Neumark has reminded us) that the esthetic judgment has its origin in man's moral nature, and Professor Santayana who dwells on the kinship of Religion and Art because both are an idealization of experience, an anticipation and expression of perfection, but also according to the old rabbis who maintained that the verse in *Exodus*: *"Ze eli waanwehu"* implies a desire to honor God by means of beautiful acts and institutions.

Again, it is charged that the pioneers of Reform were merely adapting their religion to circumstances, to the new social and political order. There has been much ado about this. The connection of Reform with the political emancipation of the Jews has been talked about as something wellnigh scandalous, as a sort of unholy alliance. But I am unable to see why all this should be regarded as so heinous an offense. For one thing, it is no discredit to the pioneers of Reform that they were active in the cause of Jewish emancipation, notwithstanding the academic advocates, the platonic lovers, of the Ghetto, past and present. And as for adjustment, what is wrong about that? Are we not extolling adjustment as the very law of life? Is not the entire story of the Jew an endless series of adjustments? What were the ordinances of Yamnia but adjustments? "Moses commanded us a law," we read, "an inheritance for the community of Jacob"; which, according to the "Book of the Pious", produced in the thirteenth century, means that Moses commanded us to adopt such measures as would cause the Torah to remain a heritage: *tsiwa lanu shenaase taqanah shethe morashah.* Moreover, is not all human thought correlated with circumstances? Who can say

in regard to any group of human ideas just where the impact of circumstances upon them begins or ends? When the third-century rabbi of Nehardea laid down the rule to the effect that the law of the government is the law: *Dina d'malkutha dina,* who shall say how much of it was due to the innate spirit of Judaism and how much to the action of circumstances? And was ancient Bagdad, in this regard, different from modern Berlin—Mar Samuel different from Samuel Holdheim? All this forms an unwritten chapter in what a recent writer has called the Autobiography of an Idea. It belongs to the metaphysics of thought.

Indeed, right here we find the first element in the theory of Reform Judaism. It is its first positive assertion in contradistinction to Orthodox Judaism. Orthodoxy regards Judaism as fixed, immutable in every particle, settled once for all. Reform regards Judaism as mobile, subject to change and adaptation, correlated with the diverse conditions of successive ages. Tradition to Orthodoxy means a mass of precepts: to Reform, it means a spiritual principle,—the motive force in the religious life of the Jew. "The entire Torah," Maimonides affirms, "Moses wrote with his own hand before he died; he gave a copy to each of the tribes and one copy he placed as testimony in the Ark. The explanation of the Torah he did not write down, but he taught it orally in his Court of Law to the seventy elders, leaving it as a commandment for them and the rest of Israel." Again, he declares, "one thing is clear and definite according to the Torah, namely, that the Torah is meant to be an everlasting commandment, without change, deduction, or addition." On the other hand, Geiger regards Judaism as the result of a process of development. "The spiritual life," he says, "undergoes manifold changes in its external expression: this is the mark of the spiritual life of Israel. Judaism gradually has grown to be what it is now. Not all that the past has handed down to us, it had itself received from grey antiquity. Only in a later age, some circumstance set this particular twig upon the ancient tree, added this link to the chain of tradition, and now this branch, this link, is regarded as belonging there from the very beginning."

Here we have not a mere superficial difference or whimsical assertion: it goes to the root of the religious life. If the Orthodox view is adopted, then we must accept the total mass of Tradition, with bag and baggage, as an inevitable part of the devout life. It embraces every part of Tradition; both theory and practice. One has to believe as well as to act in conformity with the accumulated precepts of Tradition. One cannot make any distinction, for all such distinctions are arbitrary, though, of course, people do make them according to their predilections. Moses Mendelssohn, for instance, held that Orthodoxy applied only to practice, not to beliefs and ideas. Judaism, he maintained, is a revealed legislation. Being a philosopher, he was content to conform in practice as long as he enjoyed freedom of speculation. Even if ceremonial observances had lost their symbolic value—he wrote to Herz Homberg—we must maintain them as a means of Jewish union. For what else shall serve as such a bond? Surely not our ideas and beliefs: we do not want to put chains on our intellect. Thus argued Mendelssohn. But there are others who, with equal emphasis, affirm belief to be an important part of Orthodoxy. Uriel da Costa was excommunicated for his criticism of the common creed, as well as for his heterodox cuisine, and there is no more terrible document in all Jewish literature than that pious questionnaire addressed (in 1624 or so) by the Amsterdam Congregation to Jacob Ha-Levi, the Venetian rabbi, inquiring whether Uriel's mother, in case of death, might be buried in a Jewish cemetery in view of the fact that, in spite of threat and anathema, and in spite of the example of her perfidious children and cousins, she persisted in remaining loyal to her unfortunate son.

In reality, there is no major and minor in Orthodoxy. True Orthodoxy, like Ibsen's Brand, demands all or nothing. You are either Orthodox or no. One is not Orthodox if one does not believe in the doctrines of Creation, Revelation, and suchlike, as held by our remote ancestors, though one may still perform certain traditional rites. One does not become Orthodox by merely donning a skull-cap for the post-prandial chant or by

spicing one's rhetoric with Yiddish wit. I have known even such as fancied they had acquired the odor of Orthodoxy because they read the same novels as the late Dr. Schechter. Indeed, what is Jewish Orthodoxy? And is there such a thing? Dr. Tshernowitz, for instance, would have us distinguish between aristocratic Orthodoxy and plebeian Orthodoxy. The latter, according to him, is represented by those contemporary rabbis who, among other things, object to a critical study of the Bible and the excavation of tombs and ruins in Palestine. Aristocratic Orthodoxy, on the other hand, yearns after free inquiry. Its pattern is Maimonides, who, were he alive today, according to Dr. Tshernowitz, would occupy himself with nothing so much as biblical criticism. But, then, we must not forget that Samuel David Luzzatto regarded Maimonides, with his philosophy and summation of the Law, as a menace to Judaism, and that, furthermore, one of the things Geiger was called upon to defend most staunchly against many of his orthodox contemporaries was the right of a rabbi to engage in free inquiry. Thus, there are Alps behind the Alps in Orthodoxy. No wonder, Dr. Deutsch was fond of asserting that Orthodoxy in Judaism was something like snakes in Iceland.

Orthodoxy, I repeat, means all or nothing, in both theory and practice. There can be no eclectic Orthodoxy, though of late this brand has become popular. Samson Raphael Hirsch crystallized this in the four propositions he laid down to Zechariah Frankel, when the latter was made head of the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary. "Revelation to the Orthodox Jew," he affirms, "is the real immediate word of the personal only God to man; to him, 'God spoke to Moses' is a supernatural, simple fact, as one man speaks to another. Orthodox Judaism believes in the divine authenticity of the entire Bible and knows neither of various authors of the Pentateuch, nor of a Psuedo-Isaiah, nor of Maccabean Psalms under the name of David, nor a Koheleth of Solomon from the time of the second Temple, and so forth. Tradition to Orthodox Judaism is derived from God no less than the written Word, and everything taught in the Talmud as *d'Oraitha* has the same origin and the same value for Orthodox Judaism as the word of

the Bible. Orthodox Judaism knows nothing of an historical expansion of the Law, grown up in the course of time and represented by its authors as Tradition, as divine transmission; such a thought, it rejects indignantly as an unworthy aspersion on our great and upright ancestors. Moreover, Orthodox Judaism regards the rabbinical ordinances and customs as divine obligations, from which one may not deviate. Even *minhagim,* customs, belong to the category of vows (*neder*) and are invested with perpetual obligatory power."

As long as Orthodoxy had its own way, it insisted on the immutability of Judaism, and it succeeded. It succeeded to the extent that the mass of people came to regard Judaism as synonymous with the acceptance of every tittle of tradition and the practice of every scrap of ceremony. Conversely, if one could not follow such a course, it meant one's defection from Judaism, or even from Religion, according to the Orthodox conception. It is a matter of history that vast numbers of Jews actually abandoned Judaism under the influence of this construction. When contact with the ideas and habits of the new age dislodged some parts of the traditional system of belief or practice, they held they might as well say farewell to Judaism, seeing they were out of joint with it anyway. For all I know, this process is still going on, both here and abroad. The old identification of Religion with Orthodoxy, we still encounter in that blessed phrase: "You know I am not religious," by which they want to convey the information—lest we forget—that they do not observe nor believe everything that has come down from their ancestors in Mesopotamia or Moravia. An interesting bit of religious psychology, this!

Now, Reform Judaism frankly and fully differs on this point. It maintains that there has been no such thing as a uniform, stationary, unalterable Judaism, whether in point of belief or practice. It says that the history of Judaism is full of changes, and it points to the evidence. In spite of the loss of many records, such documents as we possess show vast differences between the primitive Judaism of pre-Canaanite times and the Judaism of the Palestinian era and that of subsequent periods. Wherever we

turn, we encounter differences in practice and belief. From an Orthodox point of view, it is extremely difficult to harmonize these phenomena. Indeed, a good part of Orthodox literature is an attempt at harmonization. Reform Judaism, on the other hand, regards the History of Judaism in conjunction with the life of the Jewish people, and realizes that both its beliefs and practices have been constantly affected by the conditions under which it has lived. It recognizes the fluctional element in the history of Judaism. Judaism is movement, not stagnation. "I will *walk* among you," as the ancient promise has it, "and will be your God, and ye shall be My people."

In this regard, Reform Judaism is closely related to the best phases of Pharisaism. It stands for the progressive use and adaption of the contents of Tradition. We have heard Reform Judaism branded as a new sort of Sadducaism. But quite the contrary is true. If anything is Sadducaic it is the type of orthodoxy that would not budge from the body of old laws and customs. After all, the bulk of the latter does not matter; it is the principle that counts. "For the Sadducees," says Dr. A. Cohen, Minister of the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation,—an orthodox rabbi, I assume,—in a lecture delivered last year at Jews' College, London, "Judaism was a stereotyped, hide-bound system, committed to writing, and incapable of being altered in the smallest detail," while the Pharisees "found in the laws of the Scriptures not so much unalterable enactments, but principles of action, which yielded guidance for ever-changing conditions of life." Just such a construction and development of the spirit of the Torah is what Reform Judaism demands. No wonder, Abraham Geiger was the first to give to the world what is gradually coming to be recognized as the true estimate of the character and the achievement of the Pharisees. "If Christian scholars," says Mr. Herford in his new work on The Pharisees, "have by this time recognized that the Pharisees were not a political party, but represented the strongest religious element in Judaism, it is mainly due to Geiger."

It is in accordance with this principle that Reform Judaism attributes no absolute authority to Tradition. It views tradition as a continual stream, not as a congealed cumulus. A custom or

a notion which became associated with Judaism in Palestine or Persia or Poland, is not necessarily an obligatory part of the religious life of the modern Jew. Other times, other customs—and even other tunes, notwithstanding those who see in the immutability of tunes the soul of religious fidelity. "A religion," wrote the late Professor Ernest Troeltsch, summing up the result of his lifelong study of the subject, "in the several forms assumed by it, always depends upon the intellectual, the social, and the national conditions among which it exists." It is one of the merits of the pioneers of Reform Judaism that they realized the need of the historical method in the study of Religion long before it became common practice, and that they pointed to the element of relativity and development in the life of Judaism long before these terms came into use among others.

Of course, the application of this principle to Religion has its dangers, as critics of Professor Troeltsch have pointed out, and as he himself realized. It may result in an attitude similar to that of the ancient Ephesians, of whom Plato tells us in his *Theaetetus* that, believing in the doctrine of Heracleitus that everything is in motion, they allowed nothing to be settled either in an argument or in their own minds. If religious practices and ideas are relative, then what part of Religion (or of a religion) is really definitive and compulsory?

This question, however, Reform Judaism has not failed to answer. There is an absolute element, a permanent part, in Judaism, and this we find in the religious teachings of the Jewish Prophets. Here is an answer to those who complain that we use unfairly the title Reform, because they would reserve it only for those who mean to go back to the original sources of their religion. Luther, they contend, was a reformer; he went back to the Bible, to original Christianity, or what not: but how was Geiger a reformer? The laurels of Luther seem to worry the critics of Reform Judaism. Away back in 1839, Samuel David Luzzatto, in his Correspondence with Reggio, deplored the course of the champions of Reform who, by imitation of their Christian neighbors, prevented the Jews—it may sound Irish—from bringing

about a reform similar to that of Luther, which would have consisted in "purifying their religion and freeing it from the dross of diverse customs and religious opinions which had crept in in the course of the centuries." Recently, again, Martin Buber has devoted some rhapsodic lines to a laudation of Luther at the expense of the late Professor Lazarus and other advocates of a renewal of Judaism. Luther's conception of an evangelical life, he says, was infinitely more creative.

Now, without going into the question of whether Luther's reform lay entirely in reversion to the evangelical type, and without attempting a comparison between Luther and Geiger, we must point out two things.

First, the pioneers of Reform Judaism were not inspired by a desire to imitate non-Jews, but rather by the desire to revive Judaism for the Jew. Israel Jacobson did not try to play Luther. His aim was not to change but to vitalize the religious practices and traditions of the Jew, and herein, indeed, lay his power and influence, according to the testimony of so competent an observer as the historian Jost. "Whoever was familiar with Jacobson's work from within," he writes in the *Annalen* of 1839, "felt that here a deep, vital force sought to unfold itself, and experienced a certain satisfaction in having a part in it." It is this deep, vital force in Judaism—this *tiefe Lebendigkeit*—that to Geiger meant the essence and the legitimacy of Reform. Reform, to Geiger, was not something new in Judaism; it was a perennial fact as old as Judaism: it was the ever-present creative principle, working from age to age for the renewal and continuous effectiveness of Judaism. To him, Reform was synonymous with Tradition; the dynamic force in Judaism, intended to keep the letter of the Bible alive, to adapt the written Law to the ever-varying conditions and needs of the ages. Reform was not something that only he and his contemporaries were engaged in. Reform, to him, was the principle that had operated in Judaism at all times, and that had made for its survival. It was "the creative energy that had produced new forms and new institutions, that had effected modifications of ideas in Judaism through the ages." This creative energy is still at work in Judaism and

demands ineluctable developments. What Geiger and his school stood for was not, as some put it, a Reformed Judaism, but Reform Judaism, or rather the Judaism of Reform. They stood for the perennial persistent principle of Reform in the spiritual life of Israel—the prophetic principle in Religion.

Secondly, Reform Judaism does go back to the original sources (if, indeed, this be the supreme virtue of the devout): it goes back to the religious teaching of the Prophets. And nothing is so certain as the Prophets' conception of the paramount and permanent part of Judaism. Nothing is so certain as that the Prophets considered the ceremonial practices of their people as accidental, and sometimes even baleful, ingredients of their religious life, whereas they proclaimed belief in the Righteous God and Righteous Conduct as the indefeasible part of Jewish religion. This prophetic position, Reform Judaism has adopted consciously and resolutely. It asserts that the spiritual and ethical affirmations of Judaism are its inevitable permanent elements; all other things—customs, rites, and secondary constructions of fundamental ideas—are relative.

There is no sense either in misrepresenting Reform Judaism, or in trying to efface its distinct difference from Orthodoxy on this point, as people are prone to do nowadays. On the one hand, Reform does not reject ceremonies as such, but, on the other, it does say that ceremonies are secondary and mutable. It does not attach to the performance of ceremonies the self-sufficient, sacrosanct, absolute character attributed to it by Orthodoxy. It regards ceremonies as symbols rather than sacraments, as vehicles rather than virtues. Even Holdheim was not as hostile to ceremonies as he is commonly depicted. Hostile he was, first, to the idolization of ceremonies, and, secondly, to such ceremonies as had lost spiritual worth and vitality. "For I had found," he might have said with Coleridge,

> "For I had found
> That outward Forms, the loftiest, still receive
> Their final influence from the Life within."

But he repeatedly insisted on the necessity of outward forms to

the expression and practice of Religion. "Not against the necessity of religious ceremonies or devotional forms in general, one can express doubt or opposition from whatever point of view," writes Holdheim, "but rather against the eternal necessity or validity of certain ceremonies which, in the course of the ages, have lost the power to stimulate and to quicken men religiously and ethically, and from which also the divine spirit which once had animated them, had departed, leaving behind only a dead body." What is absolute in Judaism, according to Reform, are the fundamental assertions concerning the Righteous God and His demand of righteous conduct on the part of human beings. "I have said nothing against forms as such," Geiger tells us, "without which I cannot imagine any Religion, least of all Judaism, in which forms are necessary as vehicles and expressions of the spirit, as well as a means of fortifying it. The permanent in Israel, however, is his belief—belief in the one eternal God, who rules over us in His Almight and Allgoodness; trust in this holy and pure God; the conviction that He demands of us self-sanctification, that we honor Him by purifying ourselves, that our entire life must be borne by the thought of Him, that every act of ours must be hallowed by the goal to contribute to the fulfilment of the Divine Will: herein, Israel is always the same."

These words of Geiger, and many others like them, might well be remembered by those who like to depict Reform Judaism as an arid rationalism opposed to the mystic quality in Religion. In reality, there is no such antagonism. What Reform objects to are the perversions of Mysticism. But if Mysticism is what M. Alfred Loisy calls it in his recent work on Religion, "The presentiment of a spiritual Beyond given in the world and in man," then it is clear that Reform Judaism is dominated by the mystic quality, for it is in the Spiritual that it sees the soul and goal of the Judaism of the Prophets.

This brings us to another important element in the theory of Reform Judaism—its construction of the destiny of Judaism in terms of Universalism. Who says Prophet, in the Jewish sense, says Universalism. To think of Amos, of the author of Jonah,

of the Second Isaiah, is to think of men for whom Israel and his religion were charged with world-wide import and purpose.

Of course, some speak of the Prophets as politicians. But if so, they were curiously unpolitical politicians, like Mr. Shaw's unsocial Socialist. Politics, in the sense of concern for their people, may have been the native soil of the religion of the Prophets, as the late Professor Hermann Cohen has it, but, as he has also pointed out repeatedly, the triumph of their religion over all other philosophic and ethical systems lay in their discovery of the idea of Humanity. Their politics consisted chiefly in denouncing iniquity both among Jews and non-Jews, and in trying to convince men that God and Righteousness transcend national concerns, outreach the limits of space and time, are universal and eternal; and in one thing more; the prediction that the establishment of universal righteousness shall mean the advent of God's Kingdom on earth. In a word, the Prophets emancipated Religion from Politics, just as Holdheim sought to do, and, I might add by the way, as Luther did, according to his non-Jewish admirers. By cutting the rope that bound Judaism to Politics, by teaching that the cause of God and Righteousness was not dependent on the fate of Palestine, the Prophets performed one of the most important acts in the history of Religion and saved Judaism and the Jew from destruction.

There still are such as find pleasure in depicting Judaism as a narrow national creed. They are welcome to their pastime. But even among non-Jewish students, there are signs of increasing recognition that the Prophets were not religious tribalists, any more than the Pharisees were a lot of ceremonial mechanics. "It was the noble series of Hebrew Prophets," says Professor Hume in his recent work on the World's Living Religions, "who led the way to the truly monotheistic conception of the one sole God of the whole world—a conception of God which disregards all barriers of race and space and time." Certainly the Prophets had to reckon with political conditions. But political conditions changed: their essential faith in the Righteous God, the sovereignty of Righteousness, and the consecration of the Jew to the cause of tic circumstance."

Upon this ground, Reform Judaism has taken its stand. It regards Judaism as a religion for the world, not merely for the Jew; it regards the universal elements of Judaism as those of permanent importance; it regards the ancient political institutions and hopes (including the ancient political part of the Messianic hope) as a temporary phase of Judaism; and it regards the Jew's distinct destiny to lie not merely in the ethical perfection of the Jewish people, but in the advancement of the religious enlightenment and moral perfection of the entire human race.

> "It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be My servant
> To raise up the tribes of Jacob.
> And to restore the offspring of Israel;
> I will also give thee for a light of the nations,
> That My salvation may be unto the end of the earth."

In such terms, Reform Judaism conceives the destiny of the Jewish people.

Thus, the paramount principles of Reform Judaism, I believe, are three: first, that Judaism is a mobile, rather than a fixed, form of religious life; second, that its permanent and essential part is found in certain ethical and spiritual affirmations rather than in fixed ceremonial observances; and, thirdly, that by nature and destiny it is universal, and not national or local.

These convictions have formed the theoretical foundation of Reform Judaism, and upon this foundation it has sought to build. If Reform Judaism has stimulated the systematic study of Jewish history and literature; if it has reorganized the liturgy and revived the sermon; if it has tried to reconstruct Jewish theology and to promote religious education; if it has accentuated the place of woman and of youth in the religious community; if it has insisted upon ethical conduct and social helpfulness; if it has tried to make the contents and commands of Judaism known to the world at large; if it has sought to contribute toward the ascent of the human race—all this has been the outgrowth, the active expression, of those convictions which are at the core of its construction of the meaning and purpose of Judaism.

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF REFORM JUDAISM.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

I

The story is told that at the close of the celebration of his eightieth birthday, Dr. Isaac M. Wise addressed the assembled friends and disciples, and as the very climax of his remarks, he declared with prophetic fervor, "Within twenty-five years all the world will have accepted Reform Judaism". That was in 1899; now it is 1924. The twenty-five years have passed; but this prophecy, like so many others, is unfulfilled. In fact it seems no nearer fulfillment than at the moment when uttered.

This prediction of Dr. Wise shows a fine faith in Reform Judaism. But it shows likewise a naive misunderstanding of the true inwardness of any reform movement in religion. He seems to have thought that reform meant merely the triumph of truth and reason over falsehood and bigotry. He seems to have imagined, too, that truth and reason were absolutes, that truth was something complete, definite and unchanging, which, once discovered, must necessarily be accepted by the world unhesitatingly and unreservedly at the bidding of pure reason.

He failed to realize, apparently, that religious change and progress are controlled by complex psychological processes, in which reason is only one, and perhaps not even the most compelling force, and that these are, moreover, processes not merely of individual psychology, but to a far greater degree, of the exceedingly more complex and intangible group psychology.

In the second place he failed to realize that truth is never absolute, complete and unchangeable, but always relative and progressive. A reform movement in religion comes about only because a new world has opened for it suddenly, because a vision of new knowledge and new truth has been revealed to it. That

new world is always of the spirit; it follows always upon the dark ages of spiritual lethargy and stagnation.

The Protestant Reformation, coming upon the heels of the Renaissance, is, of course, the classic illustration of this historic truth. But Jewish history exhibits instances equally illuminating. The Deuteronomic Reformation, so-called, was merely one phase of a larger reformation in Judaism which culminated in Deutero-Isaiah's pronouncement of perfect monotheism and complete universalism. This reformation was no accident, nor yet the unaided, intellectual achievement of a single prophet or prophetic group. It was fundamentally the result of Israel's two centuries of intimate contact with Babylonian government, religion and culture, its borrowing and testing thereof, its rejection of what was false therein, its acceptance of what was true, and its recasting and reformulating of what, though false in Babylonian dress, still possessed elements of truth and spiritual value. Judaism's world vision and its doctrine of a world god, world brotherhood and world peace were its answer to Assyria's and Babylonia's challenge of world-conquest and world-empire.

Again, contact with Persian and Greek thought produced a new reformation in Judaism. For it gave rise to the doctrine of future life, and this wrought a far-reaching change in the content of Jewish theology, ritual, ceremonial and daily life. It meant a new and larger vision of God, a new doctrine of divine justice, of atonement, of retribution, of the purpose and meaning of life, death and the hereafter; it gave a new motive to existence and a new basis for morality.

And now another Reform movement in Judaism.

Up to the end of the 15th century of the present era Judaism had kept abreast of the times, and even a step or two ahead. Oppressed in most lands, there was always some place of refuge, of comparative toleration and peace, where Israel's thinkers and spiritual leaders could face the problems of the day undisturbed and work out a solution, or a seeming solution, in the spirit of the times. Close contact with Arabic philosophy and science stimulated this process. Jews participated in the cultural movements and progress of the day both as independent thinkers and

investigators, and as the agents of transmission of Arabic thought and knowledge to Europe.

But the expulsions from Spain and Portugal marked the beginning of almost world-wide repression of Jews and Judaism. Turkey alone, of all the lands of Europe, welcomed the Jew; and Turkey was more of Asia than of Europe. A few petty Italian states admitted him and used him for what he was worth to them. Holland merely tolerated him. The rest of Europe rejected and persecuted him. The Ghetto walls not only shut in his body, but even more, they hemmed in his soul and imprisoned his spirit. Israel ceased to discover, to create and to lead; it was compelled to submit, to follow, far behind, to apologize for existing and to plead for the right to continue to exist. Even in Holland an Acosta was crushed, a Spinoza excommunicated. For three centuries Israel stood still, stark still in every way. If there was no killing stagnation of the spirit of Judaism during these three apalling centuries, it was due only to the living waters of the Torah and the Talmud from which the thirsting Jewish soul drank. Certainly during these three centuries there was no progress. Rather there was, if anything, a retrogression from the intellectual and spiritual heights to which Judaism had attained during the Golden Age in Spain. There may have been some deepening of the spirit. But unmistakably there was at the same time a corresponding narrowing of this spirit. Of real enrichment of the inner content of Judaism there was little or nothing at all.

Yet these three centuries were the period of the world's greatest intellectual and spiritual enlightenment and progress. A new continent was discovered, a round earth disclosed, a new geography written. A new astronomy was unfolded and a new universe revealed. The foundations of modern science were established; educational institutions were inaugurated and educational systems instituted. Old nations passed and new nations came into being. New political systems and relations evolved; and new arts of war, new systems of finance, new methods and routes of commerce developed. New philosophies were proclaimed, new religious doctrines uttered, and new religions sprang up.

But in all this the Jew had no part. During all this momentous epoch he stood still, denied the opportunity to participate in these great movements and in this intellectual and spiritual awakening, and therefore little interested therein nor rightly comprehending it. But with soul immersed in the boundless sea of Talmudic study, and spirit animated by the sole ambition to regulate his daily life in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries by the standards, customs and laws of a thousand years before, he let the world go by unheeding and little caring.

Then with the beginning of the 19th century came the emancipation. To the Jew this meant everything. It brought the new Reform movement in Judaism.

The progress of emancipation of the Jew in Western Europe was rapid. Within approximately a half century practically all restrictive laws had been abolished, at least in theory, and the Jew was recognized as a citizen in every land of Western Europe. But even before this he had begun to drink deep of the fountains of modern knowledge and life. Very quickly, so it seemed to him, he had caught up with the world. In a remarkably short time there were Jewish scholars, scientists and philosophers, Jewish leaders of business and finance, Jewish men and women of culture, who lived in the world and worked with the world and felt themselves in every way, or almost every way, a part of the world. They were emancipated, citizens; and as such they wanted to participate fully and freely in the great work of the world. Certainly the ambition was natural and laudable.

So they tried to leap in a single jump the wide gap which three hundred years of unparalleled progress had opened up between themselves and the world about them. But one thing seemed to hold them back, their Judaism. That was of an older age, a century long past. Two possibilities confronted them. Either they might discard Judaism as something now outgrown and meaningless; or they might endeavor to modernize their Judaism, to adapt it to the new knowledge and the new spirit. And still a third alternative, although for them purely theoretical and entirely unconsidered; they might turn their backs altogether upon the world and its progress, and persist in the life of separatism, legalism and ceremonialism, which their fathers

had been forced to follow for three hundred years, and which they had mistakenly come to believe had been Israel's existence always, the traditional and only true and divinely ordained Jewish life.

The first meant holding fast to the world and rejection of Judaism—Apostasy. The last meant holding fast to Judaism and rejection of the world—Orthodoxy. The middle course meant acceptance of both Judaism and the world, the co-ordination and harmonization of the two, the determination to live in the world as Jews, and to again make of Judaism a world religion, as its founders, the great prophets of Israel, had conceived and proclaimed it. This was and is Reform.

II

In his very valuable history of the Reform Movement in Judaism, Dr. Philipson has spoken correctly of the first and second generations of reformers. Today, after one hundred years of Reform, we must speak of four generations.

The first generation was, of course, that which witnessed and guided the beginnings of the movement, the generation of Jacobson and Friedländer, of the founders of the Hamburg Temple, of Zunz and the Society for the Advancement of the Science of Judaism.

The second generation was that of Geiger and Holdheim, Einhorn and Hirsch, Wise and Lilienthal, and their contemporaries and associates, the generation of the Braunschweig, Frankfort and Breslau Conferences. Their work, inaugurated in Germany, spread to America, and laid the foundations of Reform Judaism in this country.

The third generation belongs to America. It is the generation of the early graduates of the Hebrew Union College, the generation to which most of the members of this Conference belong.

The fourth generation is just beginning.

It will be well to trace the unfolding of Reform Judaism in each of the first three generations, the program of each, and the measure in which it realized its program, in order that we

may comprehend the achievements of Reform Judaism thus far, and, standing upon the threshold of the fourth generation, may face the future with open mind and plot the course of progress and achievement for generations to come.

III

The first generation of Jewish reformers concerned themselves primarily with externals, with the superficial, apparent things of observance and practice. This was but natural. They wanted eagerly to prove themselves worthy of their newly won social fellowship and citizenship. To accomplish this, they felt, they must first make themselves as much like their neighbors as possible, must remove all differences which tended to separate them from their fellow-citizens and to mark them off as strangers and intruders in the Western world.

But another force, too, impelled them. They had tasted of modern, European culture enough to be swayed by certain positive aesthetic sensibilities and appreciations. Undoubtedly the indecorum of the Orthodox synagog, the noise, the sale of mitzvoth, the lack of dignity were repugnant to very many because of their own newly acquired appreciation of order and beauty, as well as because of the impression such conditions within the synagog might make upon non-Jewish observers.

And still another force urged them on, less apparent and immediate, but more subtle and permanent, that something in the Jewish soul, that divine spark which we call the genius of Judaism, that sees God everywhere in the world and answers all life's problems from the standpoint of God, that bids the soul of Israel and of mankind be only half content with the present and to eternally dream and hope and aspire toward an ever larger knowledge of God, an ever sublimer vision of life, and ever better, sweeter and holier tomorrow. Consciously or unconsciously this has been from the remotest period of Jewish history the steady, irresistible, divinely appointed force, which has driven Israel ever onward along the pathway of religious progress and spiritual achievement, and made of it truly the "servant of the Lord". At times it has been dormant and at

times repressed. But ever and again it has reawakened and bestirred itself and burst its bonds, and begun once more to see visions and create anew. So it was at this moment at the beginning of the 19th century. Only half perceived at first, but with steadily growing consciousness, with the will, not so much merely to live, as to discover and achieve in the realm of God and the spirit, the religious genius of Israel has ever since been driving Judaism steadily forward along the pathway of reform and progress.

But at first this force was only half felt, and the other more superficial and immediate considerations gave the initial impetus to Reform in Judaism.

So these earliest reformers sought in the beginning but little more than to dignify, beautify and modernize the service of the synagog. Quiet and order were enforced. The selling of the mitzvoth was gradually reduced. The ritual was shortened materially. A marked tendency to limit the functions of the Hazan, and even to do away altogether with the cantillation of the services, manifested itself. Not improbably a prime consideration here was the feeling that this was purely an Oriental mode of worship, and therefore offensive to modern Occidental tastes. Instead the organ was introduced and with it a more modern type of music. In all likelihood the introduction of the Sephardic pronunciation of the Hebrew into the ritual of the Hamburg Temple was the result of a like idea. This was probably felt to be softer and more musical and aesthetic than the harsh, guttural Ashkenazic pronunciation. Hebrew was undeniably a non-European, foreign language, the retention of which, too, tended to emphasize their Oriental origin. And since, unlike the cantillation, it could not readily be abolished, at least its strangeness, roughness and unaesthetic qualities should be reduced in every way possible.

But, while this was undoubtedly an important consideration in these early reforms, it was by no means the prime consideration. Of greater potency, and properly so, was the influence of reason and modern thought and fact. Already in 1788 David Friedländer had emphasized the necessity of prayers in the vernacular, in order that they might be fully understood by

those who uttered them, and had contended against the idea that there was a saving power or mystic value in the use of Hebrew just because tradition had declared it the sacred tongue. From this beginning there developed rapidly a general demand for prayers in the vernacular; and with this, of course, for the spiritual enrichment of the service and the edification and uplift of the worshipers, the sermon, also in the vernacular.

For the same reason, that the synagog ritual might voice the actual thoughts, convictions and longings of modern Jews, those prayers which dealt with the return to Palestine, the rebuilding of the Temple, the restoration of the sacrificial cult and the coming of the Messiah were abolished here and there, as was likewise the observance of the second day of the holidays.

On the other hand the ceremony of confirmation was introduced, based undoubtedly upon a similar Christian institution, yet none the less thoroughly in accord with Judaism and rich in spiritual possibilities. This ceremony, moreover, took cognizance of the diminishing knowledge of Hebrew, and the consequent increasing meaninglessness and formalism of the Bar Mitzvah service.

During this first period of Reform we note not only an increasing disregard for the Hebrew language, but likewise a steadily developing antipathy to Rabbinic Judaism as presented in the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruk, a marked tendency to depreciate its achievements and authority, and a growing antagonism to its natural exponents and champions, the Orthodox rabbis of the day.

Moreover the introduction of the organ and of Occidental forms of music, the gradual limitation of the traditional chanting, and the introduction of prayers and sermon in the vernacular exerted a far reaching effect upon the character and conduct of the synagog service. The role of the cantor rapidly lost its old, traditional significance. In all likelihood he seemed to many the very embodiment of Orientalism. The reading of the prayers and especially the presentation of the sermon in the vernacular tended to heighten the importance of the minister who conducted this portion of the service. At first this was entirely in the hands of lay readers with a modern education.

In fact the entire Reform movement during this first generation was distinctly a laymen's movement. But quite early the need was felt of rabbis with a modern, advanced education, men who could pray and preach in the vernacular, and, thoroughly trained and imbued with current ideas and sentiments, might lead this new movement in Judaism systematically and with authority.

Yet it must not be imagined for a moment that this first generation of lay reformers had failed completely. On the contrary, they had achieved much. Not only had they begun the reorganization of the ritual by the omission of prayers and the abrogation of institutions which had completely lost their meaning for Israel of the 19th century, by the translation of prayers into the vernacular, by the insistence upon proper decorum in the synagog and the general beautifying and aestheticizing of the service, but they had likewise made certain positive and valuable innovations, the introduction of the sermon, the confirmation service, the organ and modern music. Whether all these changes were wise and of permanent value is today a debatable question. Certainly there are many ready to contend for a better appreciation of the Hebrew language and of Oriental modes of music within our Reform ritual. But this does not qualify one whit the fact that our modern Reform ritual is largely the outgrowth of what these first reformers began and achieved.

But more than this they accomplished. For although unquestionably they did not appreciate the full meaning and task of Reform in Judaism and failed altogether to establish an authoritative, permanent and constructive basis for it, they did, none the less, give definite expression to certain principles which have become fundamental in Reform Judaism and have guided it steadily onward in its course. First of all they voiced the principle that religion means not conformity with an outgrown past and half meaningless tradition, but is a living thing, which must concern itself with the spiritual needs and problems of the present, must speak the language and voice the thought of today and march steadily onward in the van of life and history. Perhaps they overemphasized this principle; but perhaps, too, this overemphasis was the very thing needed to establish the principle upon a sure foundation.

As a corollary to this they established the second principle, that worship must be of today and not of yesterday, that it must be expressed in the main in the language of the worshipers, and must voice their living devotion and aspiration rather than the formal, half outgrown beliefs and longings of a distant past; and likewise that, being of today, it must conform to present standards of propriety, dignity and beauty, and employ all those forces and institutions of modern life which have power to uplift, to inspire and to consecrate.

Likewise, through the confirmation ceremony, they gave expression, tacit perhaps, but none the less definite and sure, to the principle of the equality of woman with man in the practice of religion.

Above all they established clearly and firmly the need of reform in Judaism and justified it beyond all possibility of refutation. They gave direction to its future development. They were the pioneers who bravely and with fine faith blazed the trail through the wilderness of blind, bigoted, deadening traditionalism for future generations to follow.

IV

The work of the second generaton of reformers was largely that of conservation, systematization and expansion. The first generation had witnessed a growing indifference to Judaism on the part of the masses. In practice Reform Judaism was limited to a very few centers, predominantly the Hamburg Temple. Its development up to this point had been unauthoritative, haphazard, external and opportunistic.

Zunz and his associates of the Society for the Advancement of the Science of Judaism had seen deeper, and had realized clearly that all Reform in Judaism must establish itself soundly upon the basis of the historical continuation, development and application in the present of Judaism's basic, eternal principles, rather than upon considerations of external conformity and expediency. But outside of the lifelong labors of Zunz himself, the work of the members of the Society remained dilletante for the most part and achieved little or nothing. And Zunz was

far ahead of his time, twenty years ahead in some respects, a century or more in others.

But by the '40's of the 19th century one thing had become clear, that Reform in Judaism could not continue to develop haphazardly nor opportunistically, but must establish itself upon a sure foundation and evolve a definite program of progress and achievement. This was the twofold task of the second generation of reformers.

This was, as has been said, a generation of rabbis with sound, authoritative Jewish training and modern, scholarly education. They brought to their task an equipment which far surpassed that of the lay reformers of the first generation, and they approached it soberly and reverently.

Almost from the first they sounded a note new in the Reform movement. Judaism must be preserved. This they conceived as their primary task. Preservation of Judaism must go hand in hand with, and even take precedence over, its development. The religious consciousness of the people must be deepened and intensified if Reform was to achieve aught that was true and permanent.

This new insistance upon the preservation of Judaism shows clearly the chaotic manner in which Reform had developed during the preceding quarter of a century. The number of men and women, particularly among the educated and cultured classes, who were drifting away from Judaism entirely was growing steadily. Not that early Reform had caused this condition. It was rather the product of the influence of modern times and environment upon contemporary Jewish life and thought. But while early Reform had not caused this condition, it had failed to correct or even to combat it whole-heartedly. It had rather drifted with the spirit of the times, though on the outer edge of the current, and therefore a little more slowly. Eventually, too, Reform, operating upon this principle, would have pared Judaism away, ceremony by ceremony, doctrine by doctrine, institution by institution, until there would have been little or nothing left.

Easily comprehensible, therefore, is this new note. Judaism must be preserved first of all, if it were to progress and grow

truly. And with this new note sounded, we can better understand the program of this second generation and measure their achievements. Their task was twofold, to curb the growing indifference of the masses and fill them with fresh zeal for Judaism as a modern religion, and to check and guide the irresponsible and unauthoritative reforms which emanated from well-meaning but poorly equipped lay leaders. They were the pilots whose sure knowledge and firm hand were to guide the ship of Judaism steadily and safely onward down the stream of modern thought and progress, upon which the far-reaching emancipation movement of the beginning of the 19th century had launched it.

The significance of the condition just pictured cannot be overestimated. Reform in Judaism needs little stimulation from within. The influence of the age and the environment provide this. They lay strong hands upon the untrained masses and drive them forward along the lines of religious indifference and external conformity to the life and thought of the day. Very many reforms in Judaism have developed and are developing still today in this way, reforms external and largely negative and often unjustified and unjewish, but none the less real and potent in their effects.

For it is from the laity that the impulse towards blind reform chiefly emanates. Still today the rabbis and Jewish scholars are the officers in the army of Judaism who plan and lead, and the laity are the privates who must follow, not blindly, but with knowledge, faith and zeal. Each without the other is useless; each without the other must perish, and Judaism with them. Each without the other can achieve naught. But working together, with mutual faith, with full understanding of the part each must play, with full knowledge of the true history of Judaism and the one, sure course of historic continuity along which it must progress, they can achieve everything, and the continued, unending existence of Judaism, no matter what the age and what the environment, will be assured.

This truth this second generation of reformers learned quickly. The whole early course of Reform had taught it clearly. Already at the three Conferences in the 40's the call was for

a synod, in which leading, able laymen and trained, authoritative rabbis might counsel together for the preservation and promotion of Judaism. But the realization of this truth spread slowly. For thirty years these rabbis worked almost alone, with no concerted lay movement behind them, and even without wholehearted support from their individual congregations, to guide Judaism aright along sure and safe channels. And when, in 1869 and again in 1871 the Leipzig and Augsburg Synods were held, it was too late, even though at the same time too early. The people were still too divided; there was still too much conflicting and bitterly antagonistic opinion to permit unity of organization and action and systematic progress; and following the Bavarian and Franco-Prussian wars, the establishment of the German nation, the triumph of Bismarck and his policies and the beginning of modern anti-Semitism, a new period set in for Reform Judaism, a new period of marking time, of standing still and comparative stagnation. For thirty years there was no further Reform in Germany.

Shall we say then that this second generation of reformers failed? We must answer that they did fail, as they themselves would undoubtedly have admitted, to carry out their immediate program, viz., the building up of a living, inspiring, thoroughly modern Judaism in Germany. But they failed through no fault of their own and no defect in their program. An abler and more devoted group of men, and better equipped for their task could not be found. They failed only because the sentiment of the people at large was too vague, shallow and shifting to respond to their teaching and leadership and to permit any organization and unity of action; they failed, too, because the foundations of Jewish knowledge and the principles of historic development were not sufficiently established; and they failed finally because of the unstable conditions of European history, which came at last to limit the perfect freedom under which alone the spirit of Judaism can create and progress. These conditions they could not control, the last for lack of power, the former for lack of time. After all, in the development of a great religious movement, such as Reform Judaism is, a half century is a very brief period in which to achieve; and no more

time than that was granted them. Small wonder then that in this respect they failed. It is in no wise to their discredit.

But in the larger sense they succeeded, far beyond their own expectations. For they saw clearly into the true inward significance of Reform Judaism and the nature of the problems and tasks which confronted it. And even though they did not succeed in deeply impressing their own generation with this knowledge, they did establish it firmly for later generations. They laid down in the main the basic principle of the evolution of Reform Judaism in all ages, the principle of historic continuity. They taught us how to evaluate our past truly, and how to distinguish between that which is fundamental and eternal in Judaism and that which is temporal and changing. And thus they laid consciously the foundations of all future Reform in Judaism.

They applied this unerring test, that distinguished what was eternal from what was temporal, to every phase of Judaism, to its ritual, its theology, its institutions, its very life. And by so doing they achieved greatly in a practical as well as in a theoretical way.

It is interesting to note in the first place their changing and developing attitude on the question of authority in Judaism. Beginning with the doctrine, most clearly enunciated by Holdheim, that the spirit of the age is itself a revelation from God, which may even command the abrogation of laws and institutions of a past age, they followed the first generation of reformers, in their intense and bitter opposition to the authority of the Talmud and to Rabbinic Judaism. This denial of the authority of Talmudic law caused them to stress the older and simpler law of the Torah. At first Reform Judaism was therefore characterized frequently as the return to Mosaism, as opposed to Rabbinism.

But growing experience soon demonstrated conclusively that very many of the laws of the Torah were quite as temporal and as much out of harmony with and impossible of observance in modern life, as were many of the laws of the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruk. Gradually, therefore, a new attitude developed; on the one hand, a greater tolerance and appreciation of the

Talmud and all rabbinic literature and institutions as significant, historical monuments of Jewish life and progress, and on the other hand, a tendency to limit the authority of pentateuchal legislation. Coupled with this went a steadily increased emphasis of the ethical and spiritual teachings of the prophets, as contrasted with the legalism of the Torah, and in the wake thereof a questioning attitude toward the miracles recounted in the Bible and the way in which they should be interpreted, and a hesitant and timorous attitude toward the growing science of Biblical Criticism.

Here lies one of the greatest fallacies of the entire movement, yet one that was perfectly natural and unavoidable. Setting out with a fallacious attitude towards the Talmud, which they eventually corrected, these reformers persisted in an equally fallacious and misleading attitude toward the Torah. When, with the outer hedge of talmudic legislation removed, they came face to face with the legislation of the Torah, and found that many of the laws and institutions there prescribed were quite as out of harmony with the modern age as was much of the talmudic legislation, they did not declare openly, probably because they did not dare admit to themselves, that the biblical legislation, too, must be the product of temporal and environmental conditions, and might, and perhaps even must, therefore be abrogated in exactly the same manner as talmudic legislation. They did not venture to deny for the written law the same literal, divine origin and authority which they had denied for the oral law. Instead in strictly opportunistic manner they sought to obviate such laws as were impossible of observance in the modern age by purely casuistic methods or by quietly disregarding them. Only those biblical laws, they contended, which were spiritual in character and possible of observance at all times, could be of truly divine origin and exercise eternal authority; eventually a tendency developed to limit these laws to the Ten Commandments.

Yet they must not be blamed for this. Biblical Criticism was still in its infancy and largely negative in character. Human nature requires some prop of authority to lean upon in religious belief; and the only prop that remained to them, outside of their

new and only half-tried principles of the authority of the spirit of the age and of historic development, was this of the authority of the Torah; and the Torah could have authority only if unquestioningly regarded as of divine origin and Mosaic composition.

Yet they would have saved themselves very much, and would have solved many of their most troublesome problems far more easily and satisfactorily, and would have established the foundations of Reform in Judaism even more consistently and soundly, could they have faced the question squarely and treated it as they treated the parallel problem of the origin and authority of the oral law. But perhaps it was just as well; for such treatment might have widened the breach between Reform and Orthodoxy irremediably. None the less the time has come beyond question, with the advance of Reform Judaism and the present positive development of the young twin sciences of Biblical Criticism and Comparative Religion, to face the question of the true origin, history and authority of the Torah and all its laws and institutions openly and unreservedly, and give a correct and constructive answer for all time.

Their general principle of distinction between what is temporal and shifting and shiftable in Judaism and what is eternal and unchangeable they applied in the first place to that which concerned them most immediately and practically, viz; the ritual. In this they carried on systematically the task which the preceding generation had begun. They, too, held that prayers must be meaningful, must be understood by the worshipers, and must voice their innermost devotion and aspiration. They agreed in the main that the basic formulas of the ritual, such as the *Sh'ma,* and the most important prayers should be recited either in Hebrew alone or in Hebrew and repeated in the vernacular, while it sufficed to recite the remaining prayers in the vernacular. They rejected the idea that Hebrew was the sacred language, and that therefore the recital of prayers in Hebrew gave them a sanctity and an acceptableness before God not possessed by prayers in the vernacular. At the same time they admitted a certain positive psychological value in a continued moderate employment of Hebrew in the ritual, due to its historical associations

and to the added fact that it constituted a strong bond of union with Jews of other lands.

The relative extent to which Hebrew and the vernacular should be employed in the services they wisely left to the decision of individual congregations.

They provided furthermore that the Torah continue to be read in Hebrew, but that the Haftarah be read in the vernacular. They recognized that not all parts of the Torah have equal ethical and aesthetic value, and therefore permitted a certain latitude in the selection of Torah readings. They likewise extended the range of Haftarah readings to include the Hagiographa. They also shortened the service systematically by the omission of considerable portions of the *Mussaf* service, particularly those prayers which dealt with the restoration of the sacrifices, and by the decision that the recital of the *Tefillah* once in the service sufficed. They modified the character of the prayers slightly by reducing or omitting entirely all expressions which savored of bitterness or revenge, and by modifying or substituting other phrases in order to emphasize the universalistic idea and voice the doctrines of the Messianic age and the mission of Israel.

They further enhanced the dignity and impressiveness of the service by at first limiting and ultimately abolishing completely the institution of calling up to the Torah and the sale of the *mitzvoth* and by the introduction of the organ into the synagog, together with modern music, trained choirs, and even occasionally female voices. We find likewise, at least in the Berlin Reformgemeinde, worship with uncovered head and disuse of the *tallith*. The priestly benediction was no longer restricted to the traditional descendants of the priests, but, in accordance with the principle that democratic Judaism does not recognize caste distinctions, it was permitted to be recited by the preacher or reader.

In short within the synagog, as the first achievement of their labors, they gradually evolved a service simplified, dignified and modernized, uplifting and soul-stirring, thoroughly Jewish in spirit and in complete accord with Jewish tradition, yet voicing the religious sentiments and aspirations of Israel today.

But questions other than those of ritual and worship within

the synagog, and quite as important and difficult of solution, concerned them. Chief among these was that of the Sabbath. They held that this was the very corner-stone of Judaism, which must be preserved at all cost. But in the modern environment this was extremely difficult. Certainly it was impossible in strictly traditional form and manner. It had been hedged about by rabbinic laws, burdensome and impossible in the new day. These laws they did not hesitate to abolish. But this was not enough, for it by no means assured general positive Sabbath observance. They debated the question, which was the essential element therein, rest or worship. And although no official decision was reached, the general consensus of opinion, judged by subsequent practice, seemed to be that worship was absolutely essential, while rest, interpreted in a modern, pragmatic sense, was desirable, and to be urged so far as economic circumstance permitted. The question of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday was also considered seriously, with the emphasis laid upon the spirit of the institution rather than upon its formal observance upon a particular day. But here, too, no decision was reached, other than that services might be held upon Sunday, in addition to those upon the traditional Sabbath, for the benefit of those whose attendance upon the Sabbath economic circumstance made difficult. It was in truth a negative decision, but apparently none other was possible.

In their treatment of the holidays these reformers were more positive and constructive. They abolished completely the institution of the second days of the holidays, and also all fast days except Yom Kippur. Into the observance of Shabuoth they breathed a new spirit by the systematic association of this festival with the confirmation service.

In order to combat the growing appeal of Christmas to the masses, they invested the celebration of Chanukkah with a larger meaning and attractiveness. But into the other festivals, it must be admitted, they were able to instill but little revivifying force, and with the exception of Rosh Hashona and Yom Kippur, these have steadily declined in their observance and appeal.

The questions of the validity and continued observance of the dietary laws and of circumcision they dealt with in a man-

ner largely negative. They made certain minor modifications of the circumcision ceremonial, but tacitly approved of its continued observance. On the other hand, while they never formally abolished the dietary laws, their deliberations leave the decided impression that the continued observance of these laws is of minor significance and that no important principle or institution of Judaism is violated if they be disregarded.

To the weighty question of marriage laws and institutions they gave careful consideration, and modernized and liberalized greatly. They acted upon the principles of the complete equality of the sexes and of the necessity of recognizing the law of the land as binding. In the latter case they sought to compromise by recommending an additional religious ceremony in all cases where the state required a separate civil ceremony. They likewise touched upon the difficult question of intermarriage. But while they made some, and even considerable progress, they could not, very naturally, give the final answer to these questions.

The complex traditional mourning customs they simplified and modernized materially. They put certain limitations of restraint and decorum upon passionate outbursts of grief and formal and meaningless rites of mourning, and likewise reduced considerably the traditional period of mourning. In this they were influenced partly by national and partly by economic considerations.

Particularly upon the important question of the position of woman in Judaism did they take a bold and constructive stand. They affirmed the complete equality of the sexes and the full privilege and obligation of woman in the practice of Judaism. They held that women might be counted in a *minyan* and discharge all other obligations which Judaism lays upon its adherents.

They gave firm declaration to the principle that Judaism can be maintained and developed only by an intelligent and understanding body of adherents, and that for this purpose systematic Jewish religious education of the young in well organized Jewish religious schools was indispensable. They likewise emphasized the need of theological seminaries, in which competent and authori-

tative rabbis might be trained to carry on the work of Jewish spiritual leadership.

Nor did these reformers shirk the more difficult task of dealing with subtle questions of theology and doctrine such as the conditions of the times and the development of Jewish thought brought to the fore. In particular they concerned themselves with the doctrine of the Messiah and its corollary, the election of Israel. They rejected completely the doctrine of the personal Messiah and substituted for it the parallel prophetic doctrine of the Messianic Age. They even professed to see in the conditions of their own day and the apparent spread of universalistic thought potent signs of the speedy coming of that Age, if not actually its very beginning. Very naturally they emphasized, too, the doctrine that Israel was the divinely elected agent through whose mission the Messianic ideal would be realized.

For the doctrine of bodily resurrection they substituted the more spiritual doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Beyond this, however, into the consideration of the dependant doctrines of divine judgment, reward and punishment, repentance and the like, they did not go, at least not systematically. Nevertheless the doctrinal changes which they did foster could not but indirectly influence in turn related doctrines and markedly, even though half unconsciously, deepen their spiritual content. We must accordingly credit them with a decided enrichment of the theology of Judaism in the spirit and largely under the influence of modern philosophical thought and idealism.

Such in brief were the main achievements of this second generation of reformers. Viewed from one angle, their work was largely negative. Despite their new interpretation of the Messianic doctrine and of the election of Israel, Judaism was still far from taking the lead in the development of religious thought and spiritual progress. The gap of three hundred years of standing still was not yet closed up, and theirs was therefore still the difficult task of catching up with the times. In consequence their work was largely that of adaptation of the ritual, the institutions and the theology of Judaism to the thought and conditions of their day, and of the preservation of Judaism from the encroachments of a shallow, unauthoritative and de-

structive liberalism. In this they succeeded admirably. More than this they could hardly have achieved in their day nor in the face of the problems and difficulties which confronted them. All the more, therefore, their credit and glory for what they did accomplish.

If any criticism might be passed upon their work it would be that they were somewhat too intellectual. This, too, was the spirit of the age. They were, almost without exception, men with a thoroughly modern education, doctors of philosophy of German universities, whose minds naturally worked along scholarly, rather than practical lines. Their approach to their problems was largely philosophical, theological and scholastic. This was proper and necessary. It was this very quality in their thinking and working that enabled them to establish Reform Judaism upon a sure foundation and to formulate its program for ensuing generations. But this quality alone was not enough for permanent construction. Could they have joined their efforts with those of clear-thinking, practical laymen much more might have been accomplished. Just here lies the chief weakness of their movement.

This extreme intellectualism on their part tended, too, to influence the character of the ritual which they evolved, to de-Orientalize it, but at the same time, to take from it somewhat of the warmth and colorfulness of the old, traditional service and leave it cold and formal. They corrected the indecorum of the Orthodox synagog, but they left the individual with no active part in the ritual. Formerly a lively participant, he became now a mere passive listener; and the next stage of development was indifference and absence.

Moreover their primary concern was with Israel as a unit and Judaism as the religion of a group or people. They developed the doctrines of the mission of the people of Israel and of the coming of the Messianic Age for all mankind largely at the expense of the religious needs and aspirations of the individual. Judaism has ever been more a religion of a group than a personal religion for individuals. But under Orthodoxy this was not clearly felt, nor was it even a weakness. Rather it was a source of strength. For each Jew subordinated his in-

dividuality to his constantly pressing realization of membership in the house of Israel. He was only one of a large group; Israel was the true unit, the true individual, and he was but an insignificant atom therein. He approached God not so much as an individual but rather as a member of the congregation of Israel; he suffered as a son of Israel; and he would find eventual salvation and reward likewise as a faithful son of Israel in close association with all his Jewish brethren.

But the modern age had changed this. In the spirit of their times these reformers were pronounced, even extreme universalists. They regarded all mankind as their brothers. They rejected the doctrine of the national unity of Israel and maintained uncompromisingly that they were fully obligated and loyal citizens of the nations in which they lived, and which had accorded them freedom. The only unity of Israel they recognized was that of religion, as the elect of God, His chosen servant, charged with the mission of hastening the advent of the Messianic Age. Leaving out of consideration for the present the question of whether in the formulation of this doctrine they had not, too greatly influenced by the spirit of their age and environment, failed to consider certain very cogent facts, and had not therefore come to an extreme and only partially true conclusion, this much must be admitted, that the moment they denied the complete unity of Israel, nationally as well as religiously, they took away one of the strong props upon which the individual Jew had leaned in the past.

One of their tasks, therefore, should have been to replace this with something of equal or even greater spiritual potency, some sure avenue of approach whereby the individual Jew could draw near to his God in moments of deep devotion and of spiritual need with the firm assurance that he could find Him and commune with Him face to face, as a man communes with his friend. True, in theory the avenue is there; but it is an avenue unpaved, poorly marked and difficult to discover and to travel. And not knowing that this avenue does exist in Judaism, the individual Reform Jew has ofttimes chosen a different road to God in search of satisfaction of what he deems his spiritual

needs, even the devious roads of Christian Science or of Christianity itself.

Perhaps one other weakness of Reform Judaism is due also to the marked intellectualism of these reformers, a tendency to deprecate mysticism, an overemphasis on the things of this world and this life, which can be apperceived through experiment and science and established through reason, and a disregard of the world which lies beyond the knowable; or rather not so much a disregard of that world, as the feeling that this world and its manifold duties are a sufficient human concern, and that the world beyond may well be left to care for itself; not all our meditation and speculation and fancy and vision can bring it one step nearer nor make it more vivid and vital in our lives. Perhaps not; and yet that world beyond is real, is vaster far than this world, we believe, and God is there, and eventually we shall enter into it. The thought of it must become a part of our religious experience, and our speculation about it, vain though it may be so far as reality is concerned, must influence our conception of God and of life, of truth and morality, of believing and aspiring.

Finally, one fact must be clearly established. These reformers were pronounced universalists. They regarded all mankind as brothers. They held that Judaism was a universalistic religion, not only in the content of its teaching and the nature of its mission, but also through the world-unity of the house of Israel through the bond of a common religion. There was only one Judaism, they held, and correctly. And they denied indignantly that theirs was German Judaism, German Reform Judaism actually, and held that it was a mischievous fallacy to speak of it thus. The reformers in London at about this time had designated themselves "British Jews". But these reformers upon the Continent had never labelled themselves as German Jews, nor their Judaism as German Judaism. In fact, they contended for a universal Judaism. At the Leipzig Synod in 1869, in addition to the delegates from Germany proper, there were representatives of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, England, Galicia, Roumania, Switzerland, the United States, the West Indies and Belgium. But with the exception of the representatives of Bel-

gium, all of these delegates were products of German education and steeped in modern German culture. They were completely German Jews in spirit and point of view. And significantly enough, in the discussions of this Synod it developed that the Belgian representatives were in least accord with the spirit of the assembly and the point of view of its deliberations. At the Augsburg Synod two years later, outside of representatives from Austria and Hungary, all thoroughly German in education and spirit, no foreign country was represented. And it was due entirely to conditions which developed within the German Empire proper that this Reform movement, which for fifty or more years had borne so much precious fruit and given such abundant promise, at last stagnated and stood still.

Judaism is indeed a world religion, and world Jewry is indeed a unit. But in various lands the surroundings and fortunes of Jews differ vastly, and likewise the opportunities for the development of Judaism. Not only does the spirit of the age justify and promote the evolution of Judaism, but also and to an equal degree the immediate national and cultural environment. Reform Judaism was born and received its greatest early development in Germany, not only because of the influence upon traditional Judaism of the spirit of the age, but also because of the conditions of German environment. In no other land could it have evolved as it did in Germany. And it stagnated in the end chiefly because of newly developed internal conditions within the land and nation, which affected directly Jewish thought, life and religious practice.

And not only because of the spirit of the age alone, but also because of the favoring conditions of American environment, did Reform Judaism, stagnating in Germany, find a new and more propitious home in the United States, and enter upon the third and most fruitful period of its development.

V

The Reform Movement in America grew out of the Reform movement in Germany. It was Dr. Lilienthal who in 1843 before his coming to America, had first suggested the idea of

calling the Braunschweig Conference. Dr. Wise himself, although not an attendant at the three German Conferences in the '40's, was nevertheless in close touch and sympathy with the moving spirits thereof. And Einhorn, Samuel Adler and Samuel Hirsch had been among the most active participants in those Conferences. These were the leaders of Reform Judaism in America during the early stages of its development. We can easily understand, therefore, why, during this period, the Reform movement in America was in spirit and character very largely a replica of the Reform movement in Germany.

But with two fundamental and significant differences. In the first place America was a far more fertile field for Reform propaganda and achievement. It was a young and vigorous nation, conceived in the spirit of liberalism and progress, unbound by traditions, no respecter of that which was old just because it was old, and in fact with a certain disregard and even good-natured contempt therefore. It was a heterogeneous people, or rather a collection of still ununified national, racial and religious groups, and therefore tolerant and open-minded to a degree undreamed of in Europe. For these and many like reasons the soil of America was admirably adapted to promote the growth of Reform in Judaism or in any religion.

In the second place here in America Reform Judaism developed something which had been totally lacking in the movement in Germany, organization of a permanent and efficient kind. This was due largely, if not almost entirely to the genius of Dr. Wise. This fact, above all else, stamped him as the leading figure in the movement in this country, and made American Reform Judaism his creation more than that of any other one man.

This lack of permanent organization had been one of the chief weaknesses of the movement in Germany, and one of the main causes of its eventual failure. But three consecutive Rabbinical Conferences had been held, in 1844, 1845 and 1846, and the continuity of work and achievement from one to the next was more nominal than real. But two Synods were held, in 1869 and 1871. And between Rabbis and laymen there had been little effective co-operation.

But thanks chiefly to the far-seeing organizing genius of Dr. Wise we have in America the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Through these three institutions, more than all else, Reform Judaism in America has been able to establish itself firmly and permanently, to progress surely and to achieve richly.

But this organization did not develop immediately and spontaneously. It took many years of growing and ofttimes bitter experience and patient, constructive propaganda to pave the way for it. And during this early period of preparation the development of Reform Judaism in America was in the main but a repetition upon a small scale of the course it had run and was running in Germany. There were much the same disturbing questions, the same troublesome problems and the same bitter contentions. Questions of modification of the ritual and of ceremonial practices were paramount. Outgrown prayers and institutions were abolished, and others modified in accordance with the thought of the age. Sermons and prayers in the vernacular, or rather in most cases in German, since this was the language of the majority of the Jews in America of that early day, were introduced. Numerous prayer-books sprang into being, ranging from the conservative Szold-Jastrow prayer-book to the advanced Olath Tamid of Einhorn. The wearing of the hat and the tallith in the synagog was gradually abolished. Unhampered by the institution of a state church and government control of all religious organization and activity, such as existed in Europe, each congregation was an autonomous unit, a law unto itself. Amoeba-like, congregations split into separate, smaller congregations over differences of trivial character. All in all, this first period of Reform Judaism in America was one of earnest activity, but likewise of disorganization and religious strife and chaos.

None the less a few significant achievements marked this period. The confirmation ceremony was developed until it has become an integral and basic institution of Reform Jewish practice, and has given to the festival of Shabuoth a new meaning and power of inspiration. Family pews were inaugurated by

Dr. Wise while still in Albany. Not only did they dignify the position of woman in the synagog, but they also emphasized the unity and spiritual importance of the family in the practice of Judaism. Late Friday evening services were inaugurated as a means of promoting Sabbath observance. The doctrines of the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, of the coming of the Messianic Age and of the election and mission of Israel were developed and emphasized to a degree beyond that which they attained in German Reform Judaism.

Such, in brief, were the outward characteristics and the main practical achievements of Reform Judaism in America during this first period of its history. Quite obviously it was naught but German Reform Judaism transplanted to America and only slightly and superficially modified by the changed American environment.

The organization of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the establishment of the Hebrew Union College and the creation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis marked the beginning of a new period, the rise of the third generation in the history of Reform Judaism. These three institutions were no sudden creations of Dr. Wise. For years he had planned and labored for them. He had in fact attempted to call them into being somewhat earlier, but had failed, just because the time was not yet ripe for them. Now a new generation had arisen, a generation largely born in America, to whom Germany, the German language and German institutions and traditions were outgrown matters. The best evidence of this was the steadily increasing number of prayer-books, originally written in German, and now translated into English, and the growing demand for a new prayer-book which should be, not an adaptation of an older German book, but a practically new creation, and should voice the doctrines and spiritual aspirations of American Reform Judaism. This movement culminated in the production of the Union Prayer Book, the first, and perhaps the most important and constructive practical achievement of this Conference.

The cause of this development is plain. The new generation was fairly homogeneous. It had either been born in

America or had been here long enough to have become deeply and positively influenced by the American environment and atmosphere. It was a generation with a thoroughly understanding and sympathetic American point of view, unified in spirit and eager to be unified in fact. Unity, organization and co-operative achievement are marked characteristics of American life. This spirit had now entered into American Reform Judaism.

In many respects the Pittsburgh Conference of 1885 is the connecting link between the old generation and the new. It was altogether constructive in purpose and in character. It was an outgrowth of the spirit of unity and co-operation in American Judaism. It considered earnestly many of the questions which had concerned the second generation of German reformers. And on almost every question, largely under the dominant, progressive influence of Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, a distinct advance was recorded over the position taken by the leaders of German Reform Judaism. The suggestion of a religious service on Sunday, to parallel the Sabbath service, was made with greater force and positiveness than ever before. A more tolerant and appreciative attitude toward Biblical Criticism and its discoveries and a more positive evaluation of the significance of these for Reform Judaism was voiced. The question of the proselyte and his admission into Judaism was discussed and answered in a liberal, positive and practical manner. The position of equality of woman in Judaism was stated absolutely and unequivocally. The need of democratization of the synagog, of an improved system of Jewish religious education and the preparation of helpful educational literature along modern pedagogical lines, of a more general and spiritual religious observance in the home, of a less mechanical and more elevating selection of Torah readings, and of similar minor ritual reforms, were all insisted upon.

Actually, as was to be expected, the Pittsburgh Conference in achievement fell far short of its program. Most of the questions which confronted it then, and in the discussion of which some progress was made, are still before us unsolved and as troublesome as ever. The main achievement of the Pittsburgh Conference lay in the fact that half-unconsciously

it formulated a program for Reform Judaism for the next half century or even more, the program which still today is largely guiding our labors and endeavors.

And in certain important respects it sounded a note new in the councils of Reform Judaism. The positive attitude assumed toward Biblical Criticism and its conclusions, and the insistence upon the democratization of the synagog were radical steps. Even more significant was the new message of the social aspect of religion, the principle that religion must concern itself with the urgent social problems of the day and lead the way toward their just and constructive solution. This was, perhaps, the most momentous step in the evolution of Reform Judaism thus far. It meant that for the first time Reform Judaism had stepped beyond the confines of its own Jewish group and its task of internal readjustment and faced a disturbing world problem; that for the first time since the days of the prophets Judaism was proving itself a world religion and was giving practical expression to its doctrine of the mission of Israel unto mankind.

But if the Pittsburgh Conference thus formulated a constructive program for Reform Judaism, why has its progress in the fulfillment thereof been so slow and its achievement so meager? For we must confess that, although thirty-nine years have elapsed since the Pittsburgh Conference, we have in truth advanced but little toward the complete realization of this program and the final solution of our problems. Why?

Because the process of unification of American Judaism, which promised so well in 1885 at the time of the Pittsburgh Conference, was interrupted by the advent of great masses of Jews from Eastern Europe. They came in such multitude that in less than a decade they outnumbered their Western European predecessors. Today the proportion of the two groups or of their descendents is estimated as approximately eight to one.

They brought with them their extreme rabbinical and traditional Eastern European Judaism, and sought to establish it firmly in this land of freedom and opportunity. All over the land little synagogs sprang up, seemingly almost overnight. They were the strongholds of so-called Orthodox Judaism, which rested

upon the foundations of the Torah, the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruk. By very force of numbers these Orthodox Jews asserted their power. And coupled with their Orthodoxy was a new impelling motive, Zionism. Due undoubtedly to the political and cultural conditions under which they had had to live in Eastern Europe, they had held fast to the distinctively European principle of racial and national unity. This had, of course, been fostered by the Orthodox belief in and hope of a national restoration to Palestine. They were therefore overwhelmingly Jewish nationalists. And transplanted suddenly from their Eastern European world to America, they could not grasp immediately the new principles of racial fusion and national unity which lie at the bottom of our national existence. Had these latest Jewish immigrants been only Orthodox Jews, without being Zionists, or only Zionists without being Orthodox Jews, their advent would probably not have affected the course of Reform Judaism materially. But the combination of deep-rooted Orthodoxy, militant Zionism and overwhelming numbers was invested with tremendous power. Reform Judaism was put upon the defensive and its progress for a time materially impeded; we need not hesitate to admit that. It was compelled to stand almost still and to mark time, while it waited. Waited for what?

Here we comprehend the true inwardness of the movement. Judaism is no sectarian religion. Sects within it have always proved costly and destructive; witness the Samaritan and the Karaite schisms. The unity of Israel and of Judaism is a fundamental principle in our life, and perhaps one of the chief reasons for our continuous existence. There may be differences between the Jews and Judaisms of various lands, differences of importance that can never be ignored, as some would wish, but must be constantly reckoned with, such differences that compel us to speak for example, of American Judaism and German Judaism and Eastern European Judaism. But they are differences which only distinguish, but do not divide, which mark the one brother off from the other, and give him individuality and personality. But in no wise do they disturb the family unity. This unity of Judaism is inviolable; and only so long as it is

recognized and preserved can Judaism live and flourish. Differences of opinion may exist, and factional strife, bitter even to the extreme, may disturb the peace of Israel and interrupt the development of Judaism; but they are only internal, family disagreements, which pass after a time, and leave the family unity unimpaired. Only as a unit can Israel live and thrive; only under a united Israel can Judaism progress and Reform in Judaism flourish.

Up to 1885 or even a little later Israel in America was practically a unit. The differences between Portuguese and German Jews, which had been pronounced before the Civil War, had almost entirely disappeared. Reform Judaism was developing steadily and rapidly. But after 1885 this unity had disappeared. There were now two camps in the land, Orthodox Judaism and Reform Judaism. And until their differences were settled and the breach between them closed, there could be little progress on the part of Reform; for such progress would have only widened the breach, would have separated the two groups farther and farther. Ultimately the breach would have become too wide to be healed. Then we would have had two distinct sects in Judaism in America, and eventually for one or both this would have meant stagnation and destruction. Such a development was contrary to the spirit of Judaism. Therefore Reform Judaism had to wait on the defensive, not yielding an inch, successfully parrying every attack and answering every denunciation. It had to wait for a long generation. But it had a powerful ally fighting its battle and assuring it of eventual victory, the spirit of the age and of American environment. To this even the powerful combination of Orthodoxy and militant Zionism had to succumb in the end.

Today the battle is almost at an end and the victory is assured. Here and there on the outskirts skirmishes continue, but they are the last dying echoes of the great struggle. Out of the conflict a new and larger American Israel is slowly emerging, an American Israel greatly strengthened and enriched materially and spiritually by the increased number of adherents which the last wave of Jewish migration to America has brought, and the vast stores of Jewish knowledge and loyalty which they

offer as a part of their large and precious contribution to the American Israel and the American Judaism of tomorrow. It was worth waiting and struggling for, yea twice and thrice as long as the waiting and the struggle have lasted.

So, despite the splendid organization which Dr. Wise built up, and which we have improved materially, the achievements of Reform Judaism during the last generation, measured in actual creation and deed have not been considerable. On the defensive, and confronted with the first imperative task of healing the breach, of waiting patiently for unity in American Israel to evolve anew, great progress was out of the question, and would in fact have proved destructive and not creative. But if perhaps this was not a period of large achievement, it was all the more a period of deepening of the roots and strengthening of the trunk. Reform Judaism during this generation has had the opportunity to take stock of itself, to correlate its course with the whole course of Jewish history and progress and to find it true. It has acquired a knowledge of itself and a faith in itself such as it never possessed before. It stands now unified, or almost so, upon the threshold of a new era of more rapid progress and greater achievement than it has ever known.

What then has Reform Judaism achieved during this period? If we measure by the program of the Pittsburgh Conference we can form a fair estimate of its progress. And we must confess that in the solution of the Sabbath question, of the problems of religious education, the development of a more positive religious spirit in our homes, the democratization of the synagog, the framing of a constructive program of social betterment and the hastening of the advent of the Messianic Age, we have made far less progress than we had expected.

Yet our record is by no means negative, as some might think. The Union Prayer Book alone is a mighty positive achievement. It represents the practical culmination of a hope, the realization of a need which the early reformers felt, but which German Reform Judaism has never been able to achieve. It expresses the religious beliefs, hopes and aspirations of a united Reform Judaism, and of an eventually united Judaism here in America. Of course further revisions will be necessary,

even as the first revision after a quarter of a century of use was found necessary, just because Reform Judaism is a living, growing, discovering religion, and its prayer-book, the expression of its innermost soul, must grow with it. None the less it will remain the Union Prayer Book, and the very corner-stone of Reform Judaism in America.

Along with it, and as a part of the positive achievement of Reform Judaism in the province of ritual, mention must be made of the other devotional publications of this Conference, particularly the new *Union Haggadah,* the *Union Hymnal,* the *Ministers' Handbook* and the volume *Blessing and Praise.* They, too, are powerful instruments for the unification and the deepening of the spirit of our religion and worship both in synagog and home under the conditions of modern life.

Our actual achievement in the field of religious education has been woefully inadequate. We have neglected to keep pace with and apply fully the modern science of pedagogy to the solution of this extremely difficult problem. Long ere this, just as we undertook the systematic training of Rabbis, we should have undertaken the systematic training of Jewish religious teachers and pedagogical authorities. Without them we cannot possibly organize and administer our schools properly, nor produce the necessary educational literature and other equipment. We are learning at bitter cost that it is far wiser and cheaper to train competent Jewish teachers and maintain them adequately than it is to raise up a generation devoid of Jewish knowledge and devotion, because of inefficient religious education. But at last our eyes are opened. We are organizing schools for Jewish teachers and Jewish religious school supervisors. We are likewise laboring to standardize and unify our system of Jewish religious education and to prepare the educational literature and such other pedagogical equipment as may be needed. We are learning, too, the important lesson that the right Jewish religious instruction does not end with confirmation, nor yet with high school departments, but reaches out to hold and enlighten our men and women too. The road is open before us; we have only to follow it to the end.

In the important task of democratizing the synagog and

making it truly the center of Jewish life, we are beginning to achieve positively. The free pew system, minimum dues and other like institutions, though still in their infancy, and probably requiring considerable further experiment and modification, are none the less worthy expressions of this new spirit and principle. The institution of Temple centers, too, is undoubtedly a forward step, and even though to an even greater degree still in an experimental stage, and requiring much correction and development, it also must surely bear precious fruit.

Likewise in the framing of a positive and constructive program of social betterment we have at least made a positive beginning. From a practical standpoint it is a new departure, not only for Judaism but for all modern religions. What the future will bring forth, in what directions social progress will advance, we cannot foresee. But we may rest assured that Reform Judaism will lead along with its sister-religions, and will make its helpful contribution to the healing of the social ills of mankind.

Particularly in the religious emancipation of woman has Reform Judaism gone very far. It has accorded to her full equality and privilege in the discharge of religious obligations and the rendering of religious service. And faithfully and richly is the Jewish woman repaying this act of justice and this confidence in her. But one privilege has been withheld, that of spiritual ministry and religious leadership. And unquestionably in time that too must be accorded her.

There is neither time nor need to particularize further upon the achievements of Reform Judaism. We are not cold-blooded scientists, standing without, and dispassionately analyzing a movement in which we have no immediate, personal interest. We are in the midst of the movement, the actors upon the stage, the warriors in the battle. It is our movement, and we are in perfect accord with it. We know, deep in hearts, whether our movement is true, and whether we have achieved and what. We have no reason to analyze further.

Nor may we ask, after a hundred years of labor and progress, whether the movement was justified. It was a historical necessity, the inevitable creation of historic evolution. What

history calls into being can neither be justified nor apologized for. It can only be guided along proper channels and toward a definite, exalted goal. Just that is what Reform Judaism has achieved. In a new world in which Judaism, unguided, might easily have foundered, it has saved Judaism, has saved it and adapted it in a positive way to the new life and the new knowledge, has invested it with a deeper religious spirit, has imparted to it a larger knowledge of God, a more exalted conception of man, a broader outlook upon the world, a sweeter understanding of the meaning, privilege and beauty of this life, a more assured and serene anticipation of the life to come. And today we Jews live in a modern world and have an age-old tradition, rich, but thoroughly modern religion to teach and guide and inspire us.

Whether we have completely closed the breach which three hundred years of enforced standing still put between the world and us, we cannot tell yet. We feel that we have. But the final decision must rest with future generations. But whether we have caught up with the world entirely or not, this much we know with firm faith, that we can at least reach out and touch our brethren ahead, and that the next generation, or surely the generation after that, must close the breach entirely. Ours is enough to have run our relay well, to have kept pace step by step, and even to have gained somewhat in the race. Let the next runner take the stick from our hand and carry it on to victory.

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THE PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE OUTLOOK OF REFORM JUDAISM

SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON

It may be said at the outset that the central principle of Reform Judaism is reflected in the very title of the symposium of which this paper is a part—*A Revaluation of Reform.* The attempt to revaluate any object is indicative of the belief that the thing itself is subject to change. It would be utterly meaningless and without purpose to re-assess things that are regarded in advance as unchanging in character.

Reform looks upon change as an inescapable challenge to Judaism. It believes that if the faith of the fathers is to continue and have a real influence upon the life of the children that faith must open its eyes to the world in which these children live and, with sympathy and understanding, grasp the problems of their day. These problems are in point of literal fact the *problems of the day.* They may possess features not altogether unlike the problems of earlier times, yet there are aspects of them which are altogether novel and can no more be solved by ideas and points of view that obtained before these novel elements appeared than can, let us say, the breakdown of the modern means of transportation be corrected by instrumentalities used in the period of the stagecoach.

The fact is, moreover, that problems are problems only in a particular world of experience. There is a tendency to lump all spiritual problems together and to regard them as alike, simply because of the use of the same term covering a type of question with which men have had to grapple at so many different times and under so many different conditions. We

are often misled by the terms themselves. There is an over-simplification of life that may be said to be ideological in character. The evil of such over-simplification lies in the fact that it leads us into fools' paradises. We try to transact our business in mere words, but the inevitable day comes when the accounting is to be made, and then we find that the claims of the world cannot be satisfied by anything so unsubstantial as empty words and irrelevant ideas. The solution to life's problems, therefore, must be made in terms of those specific factors that make up the life of a particular day. The form of problems may be alike, but the content different and changing. While there is an undoubted satisfaction in certain moods to find the continuous and persistent character of some of our problems, yet it is more important and more serviceable if we seek to master their particular nature by tracing them to specific conditions of thought and of life.

Such an attempt to master the precise conditions of life under which contemporary moral and spiritual problems arise gives to that particular religious discipline which undertakes it a very real and vital force. A living religion is one that is nourished by the problems generated in the very conditions under which its votaries live. The growth of such a religion is sound and normal by reason of the exercise of its genius in the very solution of those self-same problems. When religion is real it is never detached from the life that obtains in a particular day, and the more it concerns itself with the actual and underlying influences that determine the way men live and act, the more real it becomes and the more potent as an influence not only in the lives of the contemporary world but also to posterity.

There is nothing more certain about Judaism than the fact that the things which it has celebrated and lived on have come from those dramatic lives recorded in Scripture and later writings, of men who were not only troubled by those conditions that led to slavery and oppression, corruption and injustice, but who also felt that it was the primary, if not the sole, business of religion to alter these conditions and to substitute for them freedom and equality, social responsibility, and righteousness.

The great glory of the religion of Israel is to be found not

in its doctrines and principles, however adequate and excellent, but rather in the fact that they reflect a profound earnestness. They are the expressions of men who were not closet philosophers and easy-chair moralists, but men to whom the moral law, the word of God, "was a burning and consuming flame".

Any high-school boy knows that there are to be found as lofty sentiments about life and as beautiful principles of conduct among the Greeks, if not among the Romans, as in the Bible. But the same high-school boy knows too that the writings of the Greek and Roman moralists have not become the scriptures of the Western world. The reason is that the moralization of the one was speculative and detached, while of the other it was irresistible, personal, and above all, sacrificial. The opinions and sentiments of the one, though plausible and correct, are somewhat cold; but as we read the other we feel that we are not in the presence of men to whom thinking was merely an art, but of human beings burdened by the weight of unrighteousness and aflame with so much zeal for justice and truth that not only could they face men in high places and rebuke them, but they dared challenge the Infinite Himself, and demand of Him whether the judge of the entire universe shall not do justice and whether a moral order is possible wherein the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer.

I say that this, to my mind at least, constitutes the essential quality of the religion of Israel. Not its ideas but the *nature of its idealists* has caused Judaism to impress itself indelibly not only upon the children of Israel but upon the moral outlook of the entire Western world. If the prophets of Israel had been rhetoricians or sophists, or trained in the Academy or the Lyceum, we might have had interesting moral disquisitions and a philosophy of Israel, but never a religion. The uniquely spiritual quality of the prophets is strangely enough to be found in the negative fact of their character, that is, of their not being disciples of this or that school. They are solitary gigantic figures, each drawing spiritual sustenance from the fountains of life itself and testifying to the unmediated character of the moral law.

It is curious that this unique quality in the religion of

Israel, a quality that has made it a compelling and creative influence, is so often lost sight of in the discussions of the value of the different aspects of the Jewish religious life. The insistence upon traditional practices, and upon the conservation of certain modes of thought that obtained in one or another of the many and varied periods of Jewish history, marks a complete departure from the most significant and most vitalizing features of our faith. Those that insist upon traditional ways seem to be obsessed by the fear that unless the religious life of today is carried on in the same manner as it was yesterday—that unless we think the same thoughts as our forebears did a few centuries ago—our identity will be lost and Judaism will cease to be. No better answer can be given than is to be found in the testimony of the Scripture itself. The vital periods of Jewish life, as recorded in the Bible, are to be found whenever and wherever our spiritual forebears addressed themselves personally and directly and immediately to the needs of the hour. Biblical history is a record of reversals of thought on the basis of an undeniable and inescapable responsibility to make life square with an ever-growing and ever-expanding conception of the moral will of the Infinite.

I have purposely dwelt upon the unique and central feature of Judaism and particularly of biblical religion because I believe profoundly that therein lies the sanction and justification of Reform. I might even go further and say that not only is Reform justified, but it is also *necessary* and *obligatory,* if our religion is to maintain its function as an influencing and controlling factor in the living world. To those who are not in sympathy with this conception of religion and who look upon Judaism more or less as a *halachic* discipline, a fixed inheritance of a great body of traditions that need nothing more than explication, all changes seem to be of the nature of sacrilegious rejections. Not being sympathetic with the purpose that underlies the new tendencies, and either not understanding or not concerned about the forces of current life, the detractors of Reform regard the new religious practices as wanton and external and destructive.

Even in Reform circles there are those who seem to agree

with our critics that this new movement in Judaism is a departure from the main path and is motivated by a desire to be free from the burden of practices that have become irksome. It is held that the explanation of Reform is to be found largely in the decay of the Jewish consciousness, in a certain flabbiness of Jewish character, which has become too weak to bear up with the invidious differences that attach to the Jew by reason of his strange traditions and observances. There is, of course, a grain of truth in this charge, for when we deal with the complexity of human life and the varieties of human character, we find that the events that take place and the phenomena that arise are never the expression of single and simple causes. However great and lofty a movement may be in its inception, there are always those who see in it possibilities of making it personally useful and subservient to interests or sentiments not at all in harmony with the original purpose and direction of the movement. It seems to be the inevitable lot of every great ideal to be deflected from its original goal. I suppose that is what is commonly meant when we say that "nothing human is perfect", because man is after all only human. The march towards the ideal is necessarily slow. In a fine moment of great exaltation men start out together following a superb vision, but presently they begin to realize that only the few can stand face to face with it and see it with naked eyes. As for the rest, most can see only darkly, many suffer various forms of astigmatism, and there are the faint-hearted, the self-deceived, and worst of all, the self-seeking. Of such and of many others the march is composed. It is no wonder, then, that social and religious movements are never alike to different onlookers and interpreters. The phenomenon is complex, and each observer sees what he looks for and reports what his predilections dictate. Those of us who are trying earnestly to reassess Reform must be on our guard, so far as one can be, against this personal equation. In the judgments that we pass upon it none of us should lose sight of this relative character of our perceptions and observations. Each one of us enters the field of judgment with certain prepossessions, and however earnestly we try, they color the scene, which in point of fact

is none other than *our* scene. Here, too, we are moved to remark that we are only human; both the actor and the spectator suffer from the same limitations that inhere in particular heredities and environments.

But when all is said there are certain things that tend to rise above the accident of human differences. However complex a man is, however many-sided an episode in human history is, there are always certain things that one feels constrained to say about them by the very logic that inheres in human experience. Approaching what we have in mind negatively, may we not remark that there is a limit to the things that we can say about any human event, no matter how complicated? If in a sphere of ongoing interest and experience something happens today which did not happen yesterday, our minds inevitably search the new causes and conditions. If the new phenomenon tends to repeat itself in the conscious life of individuals, then we may be certain that in the background and the substrata of their lives preparations have been made for these new attitudes and practices.

To regard Reform on the basis of mere convenience, and as an easy and offhand surrender, is an explanation as shallow as it is unfair and mischievous. If today one rejects what he considered sacred yesterday, it cannot be that sacrilege has suddenly become the order of the new day, or that one has overnight learned the delights of capricious disloyalties, but rather that something new has come into the life of the individual, yielding such thoughts and sentiments as could not but weaken the foundations upon which the older practices rested. My thought is that in normal and rational lives changes of attitude to things sacred and important can never be explained on the basis of mere love of ease and comfort, for men have always loved these; and, on the other hand, there is as much courage and loyalty and faithfulness today as there ever was, and the differences we observe are only in the particular expression and direction of these loyalties. If we see changes in them, it is not because men have become devoid of any devotions or responsibilities or obligations, but rather that they have learned to perceive the inadequacy of the older loyalties and are in search

of those that will be more pertinent to present-day conditions and challenges.

When two or three generations ago Reform became a persistent movement of accommodation to the Western world, it was because the Western world had grown conscious not only of its many-sided heritage from the past and of the value of its new achievements in the social, political, scientific, and industrial world, but also of the obligation and the responsibility that these created for any man who would participate in a world which had become so self-directive and self-transforming. Consciousness is always reconstructive, and consciousness of power makes the reconstructive effort restless and irresistible. When the process of reconstruction sets in, the movement is co-ordinative and re-distributive. The old and the new are brought together. Measuring, fitting, selecting, take place, and the final choice is made by life itself. Once the Jew found himself a citizen of this new self-conscious, directive, and reconstructive world, his Judaism, like every other element of the world's total heritage, became subjected to the same scrutiny and re-examination.

There is a curious psychology about us Jews in our relation to the non-Jewish world. When we look to the outside world with a view of securing from it better opportunities and rights, we put forth the claim that we are like the rest of mankind. When, however, the forces of the outside world begin to play upon us and affect us, as they do commonly upon all those who participate in the world's enterprises, then we shrink back and sulk and resent these new influences upon us on the ground that we are unlike our neighbors and must forever remain different from them.

To the credit of the early reformers it must be said that they were ready to accept the logic and the consequences of direct participation in the living world, and that they demonstrated this readiness by making provisions for such changes in the outer practices of Judaism and also in its inner conceptions as to enable us to enter into harmonious relations with the new world of thought and life. The outer changes were obviously more evident than the inner ones, for they affected the visible

conduct of the Jew; and it is because these changes became so present to the naked eye, and so contrasting, that the idea grew up that Reform was primarily a matter of external adaptation. We cannot insist upon the truth too often that behind Reform lay influences that had to do with the intellectual, cultural, social, and scientific world, of which the Jew, for the first time in centuries and centuries, began to be somewhat of an equal and responsible part.

It may be pertinent and of interest to point out that there is another reason why there is such a persistent and widespread view among Jews themselves that Reform is primarily a matter of external accommodation, and that is to be found in the fact of the diversity of conditions under which scattered Israel lives and maintains itself, while at the same time retaining such a solidarity as does not permit one group of Jews to be altogether oblivious of the opinions of others. In point of calendar time the Jews of 1924 are contemporaneous; in point of place of residence they are not only hundreds or thousands of miles apart, but in many cases are generations and centuries apart. We talk of Western civilization as if it were a cultural plant that grows and flourishes alike in every land that is roughly comprised in the Western Hemisphere. "Civilization" itself is one of our comfortable and glorious euphuisms; and how much more of a beautiful conceit and a complacent delusion is the term "Western Civilization"? After all, conceptions like "civilization" and "humanity" are nothing more than noble hypotheses and fine generalizations of ideal conditions of life foreshadowed in the lives of men of rare gifts and sublime vision.

The various cultures of different places are just the different refractions and absorptions of the light of civilization and humanity emanating from the men of genius of the first magnitude, and shining from the universal heavens. Because there is no uniformity in cultural attainment, the Jews scattered the world over are necessarily subject to conditions of civilized life differing greatly in value; and when there is therefore such a movement as Reform in Judaism, it cannot but be regarded as of unequal value by the Jews themselves who live under so many different cultural environments. It is hardly to be expected

that the Jews of Russia and of the Polish Pale should be able to understand sympathetically the Judaism influenced by German or English or American life. And yet what these Jews think about our new form of Judaism cannot but influence us because of the underlying solidarity due to historic conditions that have created for us mutual responsibilities. I point out this fact not as something to lament, but rather to understand. The attack upon Reform is constantly replenished and renewed by contacts with those of our brothers who have lived under conditions that could not have given rise to the same forms of religious behaviour and thinking.

It is important to hold these things in mind when considering the present status of Judaism. Scattered among the nations of the world as the Jews are, there is yet a consciousness of unity among them. If this consciousness does not function as an actual cohesive agency at any particular time, it cannot be denied that it is yet potential, for the historic feeling that every Jew is responsible for every other may at any moment be pressed home to us by the exigencies of life among the nations.

The status of Reform cannot therefore be so easily described, for as Jewish conditions are constantly undergoing changes in one place or another, so is the religion of the Jew. It is only a few years since Reform Judaism was largely German, academic, and possibly a little Kantian and Hegelian. Today Reform Judaism in America at least is fast losing its German character, and the reason is that the new leaders are either American born or hailing from Eastern Europe, or at any rate from parts of Europe other than Germany. It is too early to interpret the influence of the new religious leadership in Israel. We may hazard a guess, however, that under this new leadership Judaism will tend to become less academic and more and more responsive to the social needs and currents of the time; and the reason is the age-old one found in the Scripture that these new leaders "have known the heart of the stranger, having been strangers in the land of Egypt".

The status of Reform as we see it in its external embodiments may appear to be rather prosperous. We are living in

the era of institutionalism. Everywhere there is a passion for organization, and naturally Judaism, too, is influenced to make every organized effort to establish itself. But as organization is always easier than realization, we must be warned against mistaking one for the other. We have numerous temples, and fine ones. We have Jewish centers, sisterhoods and brotherhoods, children's societies and young people's societies, and we have a new type of rabbi, who, unlike Isaiah's conception of a leader in Israel, does "make his voice to be heard in the street". We hold conventions frequently where we banquet Judaism and listen with complacent satisfaction to post-prandial glorifications of our faith. We see our affairs described on the front pages of metropolitan newspapers. All of which is, of course, indicative of a form of life. I do not wish to minimize the possible importance and the value of such manifestations. On the contrary, they do give the Jew as a Jew a place in the world, and a certain amount of dignity does attach to the mere fact of occupying a place. But spiritual values, as everyone of us knows, reside in intrinsic worth of character and of purpose and not in the paraphernalia of expression, no matter how elaborate and impressive.

I fear that the outward show of the Jewish religious life may upon analysis turn out to be an expression of material prosperity rather than a mark of spiritual reality and inwardness. Our costly structures may mark nothing more than the overflow of financial resources; our new Temples may owe their existence to nothing finer than a mere surplusage of wealth. In our present-day attempt to revaluate Judaism, it is imperative that we look behind the phenomena of Jewish institutional life and be warned against quantitative standards and external measurements.

If I should put into a single sentence the present status of Reform, I would say that we are on the eve of another period of profound searching, and the motive of this re-examination is to be found in the ever-growing belief that modern Judaism must justify its continuing existence by contributing to the spiritual sanctions needed in the hopes and labors of social reconstruction. The rise of the Reform movement was occasioned

and made necessary by the emancipation of the mind of the Western world through the combined action of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the scientific and industrial revolutions. The challenge of these cultural influences to Judaism in the early period of Reform was one of intellectual and behavioristic accommodation. It had, of course, moral tendencies and it contemplated social consequences; but as a movement early Reform had to do primarily with the harmonization of beliefs and practices so that the Jew might enter into the citizenship of the new world as an equal participant thereof.

Today the challenge is somewhat different, and particularly since the World War. The world's problems are now seen to be essentially moral and spiritual. They are frankly the problems of social adjustment. The world we live in is realistic and pragmatic. Its realism expresses itself in the attempt to master the actual nature of the world of things and relations, on the one hand, and of men's capacities and potentialities on the other. The pragmatism of the present-day world is at bottom motivated by a concern with social values and validities.

As to the future outlook of Judaism, it is, of course, hazardous to speak, but if one may speak hypothetically, as I believe it is wiser to do, I should say that it is possible for Judaism at this time to write the brightest chapter in its book of history since biblical times, provided Jewish religious leadership will inform itself in the most searching and sympathetic way in the spirit of that understanding and counsel whose object it is to establish a moralized social order. We are living in a world of far-reaching re-examinations of social institutions and values. The motivating impulse of these re-examinations may be described in one word as anthropoteleogolical. To paraphrase a fine term of Spinoza, the new vision is *sub specie humanitatis*—an attempt to see in the light of human capacities and claims. The goal and touchstone of the new endeavor will be the adjustment and the enrichment of the life of the human being—and, we might add, the *average* human being.

The emphasis upon this principle is having a revolutionary effect in every department of human endeavor. Science and art, industry and politics, are undergoing radical changes, changes

determined by the one dominating motive which is to control conditions of life and of thought in such wise as to generate factors of cultural and spiritual adjustment, and also to secure for the individual opportunities of personal happiness and peace in a world socially constructed and morally organized. This new program, outlined and advanced by the thinkers and seers of our time, is also profoundly affecting religious institutions and leaders. The present-day conflict within Protestantism is at bottom not an intellectual and theological controversy. Its real meaning is to be found in the challenge of a world which yearns for a spiritual leadership that will be at once more responsible and more effectual. It is no accident that it so often happens that whenever in this controversy one finds a traditionalist or fundamentalist, one is likely to discover at the same time a person who is either unenlightened in or unconcerned with the new cry of social justice; and, by the same token, wherever one finds a man who is leading in liberal theological opinions, one will discern within him a passion for a more generous and more righteous human order.

It seems that a moral impulse is, after all, the most revolutionary of the sentiments that animate the heart of man. The more genuine it is, the more thoroughgoing it is as a matter of course. Not only does the moral impulse seek to fulfill itself and to satisfy itself in newer adjustments in the outer world, but it also expresses itself in freedom to re-examine ideas and ideals and in supplying a new groundwork of principles upon which to build a more secure and loftier social order.

The outstanding illustration today of the operation of a moral purpose is to be found in the will for international peace which is becoming so persistent and so widespread. The background of it is, of course, the World War. That great holocaust and the subsequent disillusionments have stirred the hearts of men as they have never been stirred before; and now for the first time has the ideal of peace become a genuine concern and passion in the lives of men. The thoroughgoing character of its earnestness is seen on the one hand in the reconsideration of the meaning of such conceptions as nationalism and sovereignty, and on the other in the study of personal heredity and psychology

with a view of controlling the conditions that will ultimately make for peace.

What we have just been saying is after all nothing more than expressing in modern language the significance of the prophetic way of life and thought recorded for us in Scripture. The great prophets were revolutionary in their theology because of the simplicity and intensity of their moral convictions; and it is these moral convictions, together with the conceptions of God and life and destiny that arose out of them, which furnished to the Children of Israel for all subsequent generations the spiritual meat and drink upon which they have thus far subsisted.

The problem for us in this generation, as we stand upon the threshold of universal reconstruction along the lines of social and moral betterment, is to mobilize all our resources and with all our hearts and souls and might to accept the burden of the *malchus shomayim*, the kingdom of heaven, that is now challenging us.

To accept this challenge will require courage to think, and courage to do and bear consequences. As the *malchus shomayim* is not local, particularistic, or exclusive, so the principles of thought that should guide us must be relevant to this universal and all-inclusive purpose. I make bold to assert that Judaism will never be able to become a direct influence in the remaking of the social order along moral and spiritual lines so long as the Jews themselves are preoccupied with racial or national aspirations—aspirations which at best are belated and outworn. It is the moral law itself that requires the universal outlook. When the Torah is conceived by a man as a spiritual discipline, there is no choice left to him but to follow whither it leads, and it leads everywhere. Many of us are fond of recalling the fact that the Torah was given to the Children of Israel in the wilderness, that is, in No Man's Land, but few of us are willing and ready to accept the practical implications of this circumstance. If the outlook for Judaism is to be at all significant, it must be on the basis of an intensive and exclusive passion for the moral law whose challenge for universal servanthood is the supreme heritage of our people.

Moreover, if this challenge is genuinely and sincerely accepted, it will become explicit not only in a better understanding, but also in a courageous and practical acceptance of the mission of Israel. I know that in many and in rather considerable quarters in Israel the mission is not at all popular. On the contrary it is often received with much scorn.

There are two general reasons for this hostile attitude to the idea of the mission. Some of the reasons are to be found in the misunderstanding of its meaning, and others arise from considerations of a directly opposite nature.

Those that interpret the claim of the mission as a racial and nationalistic conceit akin to the type of thinking underlying German Kultur are naturally and quite justifiably impatient with it. The arrogance and superciliousness of such a conception cannot but be deprecated by thoughtful persons.

But then there are others who oppose the mission for quite other reasons. I have always suspected that these dislike the idea because they do divine its implications but chafe under them. For the mission is after all the most disturbing conception that we find in Jewish religious life. As the prophet in Israel was the great troubler in his day, so the mission in Israel is the supremely troubling conception for the Jew in general. Rightly understood, the mission is nothing more, and I might add, nothing less, than the sense of responsibility for the embodiment in social behavior of the moral principles enunciated by our spiritual forebears. The mission is a call to sincerity. There is no private property in any ideal conception. To perceive the right is to become its champion. Righteousness is not only a direction of thinking, but it also comprises the requisite courage to make the right prevail. Again I must say that if Judaism is to have a future, it must learn to take its mission seriously. Jews must enter into the larger world with a consciousness of direct Jewish responsibility for human welfare. Unfortunately our Jewishness has for some time been negative, defensive, apologetic, and not sufficiently spiritually assertive and affirmative. In a world that struggles for enlightenment, for justice and equality, for understanding and peace, the Jew must find himself directly concerned, as a Jew—that is, as the heir to spiritual obligations.

I doubt whether there is any greater *ḥillul hashem* or any greater violation of the third commandment than in the manner in which we boast about the mission in our professions, and forget or neglect it in our practices. For we take the name of the Lord in vain every time we speak of ourselves as His *chosen* and desecrate the holiest conception of the moral law when, as a religious communion, we make no serious attempt to bear witness to the truth and "give light to the peoples, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeons and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house". What sacrifices are we, the missionary people, now making for the establishment of justice and peace and understanding, ideals which, we boast, are the special contributions of Israel?

And in this connection I am wondering whether the time has not arrived for us to ask ourselves the question whether we do not have a direct responsibility for the non-Jewish men and women who have altogether outlived the Christian theology and conception of life. In every city, especially the larger ones, numbers of non-Jews have become unchurched, and some come regularly to our Temples. Shall not our mission prompt us at least to make inquiries as to whether and under what conditions the fellowship of our faith may be extended to such men and women? To me it seems that the very consideration and effort to become spiritually useful to others in a direct way will tend to bestir us and revitalize our own religious consciousness.

Furthermore, if Judaism is to have a future, it must have the courage not only to say certain things but to make changes in Jewish religious practices. One of our ancient sages reminded us, "The world stands not only upon the *Torah* and *gemiluth ḥasodim,* but also upon *avodah*". Religion, to have vitality and to influence the lives of men in every sense, must make it possible for men first to worship at all, and secondly to worship in sincerity. Considering the latter point first, I hold that the time has arrived when we must examine with all earnestness our prayer books, and see whether they actually express the convictions of the average worshiper. If truth and sincerity are important in the world of everyday relations, how much more are they important at the time when man addresses his

Maker and seeks to call out of himself his latent spiritual forces and resources? The hour of service is most precious, and nothing should be uttered by the worshiper that cannot receive the wholehearted consent of his better and truer nature.

I would have our prayers recast with the purpose of appealing to the motive of self-consecration, rather than to continue to indulge in a constant repetition of adorations of the Most High. I hope I will not be misunderstood. It is not that I object to adoration; on the contrary, I would have adoration sincere and purposeful. I can conceive of no better evidence of adoration than to consecrate oneself to the service of mankind under the consciousness of God's presence. Here again we go back to our own prophets, "What does the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God". A proper humility with God is, I believe, better achieved by introspection, moral self-examination, than by the recitation of the sublime attributes of the Most High.

If Reform Judaism is to take the moral law seriously as the informing principle of a universal mission, then the prayer book should embody this conception more directly and more unmistakably. There is too much particularism in our prayers.

The psychologists tell us that aged people suffer from a type of mind that they describe as "total recall". It is a kind of thinking in which there is ever present to the person his entire past, and especially the early phases of it. Such a mind is not only reminiscent but repetitious. To listen to such a person may satisfy curiosity but not the craving for quickening life. May I not express the fear that our prayer book suffers from the same weakness that afflicts senility?

I confess that whenever I see in the congregation a group of non-Jews, I am troubled in conscience when I ask myself whether they can have a share in the prayers that I address to the Universal Father. That, by the way, is the real test of the adequacy and the value of all public worship. It is when we come into contact with people not of our own group, and seek to have them take part with us in the common effort to better life, that we find out the nature of our thinking and activities—how particularistic and exclusive they are.

In connection with our prayer book it may be pertinent to point out further that the recitation of our prayers in the vernacular renders us more keenly cognizant of their meaning than was possible when the service was entirely in Hebrew. The reading of Hebrew prayers may become part of the ceremonial, a kind of symbolism from which articulate meaning recedes into the background; but when prayers become generally intelligible, their ceremonial character becomes secondary and the canons of thought and the categories of truth and value become primary.

I have said that if Judaism is to survive as a religious influence, worship itself must be made possible. I hesitate to speak of the following, but I feel impelled to do so by reason of my sincere desire to do my own part in giving Judaism a chance to affect the lives of living men and of posterity. Most of you have, I am sure, already guessed what I have in mind. Of course, it is the Sabbath. Frankly speaking, the only Sabbath that we have is the prayer-book Sabbath. It is the prayer book that asks God to "grant us that our rest on the Sabbath be acceptable to Him". It is the prayer book that supplicates the Infinite to "preserve the Sabbath as Israel's heritage". It is out of the prayer book that the paid choir sings, "The Children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, and observe it throughout their generations as a perpetual covenant". It is all in the prayer book, but little if any of these sentiments are found in the lives of the people that use this prayer book. Frankly speaking, whatever Sabbath is left to us may be described as a children's Sabbath or a grandmother's Sabbath. The active men and women of our congregation are busier on Saturday than they are on every other day of the week.

Now, how long can the people hope to draw spiritual sustenance from worship that can claim for itself so few sincere adherents? Here is a problem that sooner or later we, as the Conference of American Rabbis, will have to face, and face with great courage and consecration. Personally I should rather see the Conference face this sooner than later. A religion in which worship ceases is empty, and one in which worship is insincere is morally hurtful and spiritually suicidal.

We are standing at the foot of the mountain of great and

new aspirations. These aspirations are world-embracing and exceedingly earnest, and the challenge comes to us, the Children of Israel, to recapitulate in our own day the consecrating experience of our forebears, and with them to say, "All that the Lord hath said, all that the moral law dictates, we will do and understand". The call to us is once more to do; the understanding will follow. The supreme choice is to be made whether we will continue in the path marked out by the mere momentum of the past, or charted by the new visions of a better world. One direction leads to slow death, the other to renewed life. Shall we not choose life?

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Brickner: I listened very attentively to these papers and I think they are going to be classics on Reform Judaism. But as I listened this question arose in mind: Shall Reform Judaism proceed as a part of the historic continuity of Judaism and of the Jewish people or shall those in America, who call themselves Reform Jews become a sect which sprang from the Jews; who, due to a certain philosophical conception which is universal shall, starting from Judaism, become a separate and distinct sect of people who teach Ethical Humanitarism. We are divided and I am glad the issue has come frankly to a head. These papers have shown a distinct line of cleavage.

One group is driving the principles of Holdheim and Geiger to their logical consequences, namely, Humanitarianism, and there are men outside of the Jewish group who because of certain cultural forces have come to the same conclusion. They would agree absolutely with Dr. Goldenson and say to him, "Come, let us join in a fellowship of Ethical Humanitarianism and we will build a Community House of Worship and over the door shall be the motto: "This House shall be a House of Prayer unto all people."

And when you have done that you have cut yourself off deliberately from the historic continuity of the Jewish people.

The second group is a group small in number in this Conference—call them, if you please, the "left wing" of the Confer-

ence and the time is coming when we will organize that left wing and say that we shall remain a part of the stream of Historic Jewish Continuity. We shall reconcile our philosophy of life not by the extreme of logic, for the human being is not a thinking being who sometimes feels, but a feeling animal who sometimes thinks.

We shall stay close to the lines of the Jewish people and our reform shall be, not a logical development of certain principles which we extracted from a certain portion of Jewish history, but we shall continue the whole line and make reform, as Dr. Enelow said in his paper, "a principle of Jewish tradition."

Orthodoxy is reforming—Conservatism. There is a tendency on the part of the thinking Jews to adapt their historic consciousness to life, but they see in reform a complete breaking away, on the ground of logic, from the sentiment of the Jewish people.

I believe there is a great opportunity for reform by virtue of the cessation of immigration into our country. Here are the masses of children of European Jewry in a position to receive a message of reform as the traditional principle of change in Judaism. If we proceed logically with Dr. Goldenson we will cut ourselves off and there will develop in America a new reform movement fitted to the spirit and the sentiment of the Jewish people in America. Those of us who believe in Nationalism believe in the Jewish home in Palestine as a *modus vivendi* to Internationalism, and we believe that, given an environment where we can live 100% Jews, without the necessity of making compromises which we must make in the *diaspora* we will be able to set an example and make it possible for us to demonstrate what Universalism really means.

Rabbi Witt: I have said to some of you that in my own congregation this coming year my Board of Trustees has already given me the authority to do away with the Prayerbook as a fixed and repetitious ritual. I have for twenty years been hearing from my members that they are tired of reading the same old prayers and I have answered exactly as some of you have. You know what the arguments are. I have come to the conclusion

that it is a mistake. Our people have a right to a service which is inspiring. I think above everything else comes the need of the living human being when it is a need that is expressive of the innermost desires and yearnings of the soul. I find that in answering that need I stand exactly on the fundamental principle of Reform Judaism; that is all that Reform means, it is a response to the innermost needs of the Jewish soul.

Now it is my most devout members that come to me and say, "For fifty years we have been saying these prayers; give us something different." Now what do I propose to do? I purpose to take the Jewish prayers and diversify them. I have found that our traditional prayers are greater and fuller than the collection contained in the prayer book. I am going to take the Torah out Friday night. This is a very great symbol, the central symbol in Judaism, and I don't want to be told that it wasn't done yesterday. Lots of things weren't done yesterday. How dare anyone tell me that it wasn't done yesterday when I ask for the privilege of taking out the Torah which many of my people don't see except on Rosh Hashona and Yom Kippur.

We have been living under conditions wherein in 90 per cent of the congregations of America the major Sabbath Service is given on Friday night, and we must meet that condition. I want my people to see the Torah. I want to give them more diversified prayer. I say I wish we had a prayer book of a hundred different prayers—prayer services, a little shorter than what we have now, but we need it. That is one thing I am going to have tried out. If it is a failure I will go back to the Prayer Book.

Another thing has been troubling me. I spoke to a world leader of Zionism a couple of years ago. He was in St. Louis, and he denounced the Jewish youth and the Jew of America. He said "Their hearts are empty." To a certain extent he is right. He said to me, "Rabbi, I have an ideal as a nationalist. What sort of an ideal have you? What keeps you a rabbi? How have you the heart to serve your people?"

Well, I turned on him and I told him what my ideal was. My ideal was partly indicated by Rabbi Goldenson yesterday, and I want to defend him here since he isn't here. It was most eloquently expressed by Rabbi Ettelson. I never heard him give as

fine a speech, with such chiseled sentences, with so much inspirational force, as he did yesterday. I said to this Zionist leader: "I don't want to go back to Palestine, to a tribalism. I want to go forward to a conquest of the world by the Jewish thought and the Jew."

Now here is the justification for it, and I said this to Rabbi Silver yesterday when he said that "Israel", (quoting the prophet) "and Judaism are intimately bound up: the people and the religion." That is true, but I will ask you, and I have asked myself, What do you mean by the people? What constitutes a people today? What constitutes a group separateness today? We have undergone a most fundamental, a most radical change with regard to the bases of group separateness in these days. There was a time when a tribe was constituted by oneness of blood, and oneness of God, and oneness of King. Well, we have in America the separate group that is America. Blood has nothing to do with it; a people today is an aggregate that is held together by bonds, not of blood, not of birth, but by loyalty.

Then he said to me, "Well, we are not talking about a nation, we are talking about race." I said, "Frankly speaking, when I look into myself, I don't know what anyone means by a Jewish Race, and some of the things which characterize the Jewish Race. If it means physical attributes, if it means temperament, I must confess I don't even like some of them, and I am glad that I haven't them." I don't know, as I look into myself, what differentiates me from any one else.

I say that the thing that binds Jews together is loyalty, and loyalty that is rooted in a past. I do not deny the past. There have always been two paramount elements. One has been blood, the other has been spiritual loyalty. These two have always been fused more or less, but I am going to invoke the principle of change, and I am ready to show that throughout the centuries there has been a gradual diminution of the blood element in Jewish life, and the philosophic basis upon which I am ready to take my position is that we are ready for world conquest. We are ready for a propaganda of proselytism and conversion, one that does not divorce people and religion, and does not divorce past from present, or future. It says that in my past and in the past

of the Jew there are great spiritual forces, these are the forces that have made the Jew essentially what he is. There have been other forces. We have changed some of them. We will change others. We will leave them behind us. But great spiritual forces have made us Jews and these great spiritual forces require not birth, they require not blood, they require loyalty, and we can admit all the world to this sort of loyalty and still remain rooted to our past, still remain a people, and still remain Jews, and through Jews conquer the world to Judaism.

Rabbi Max Kaufman: Speaking in all deference, I would say, nevertheless, that I know and realize the importance and the depth at the bottom of this discussion.

In connection with it I wish to speak of something that has been troubling me all the years that I have been in the ministry; and as I go along, I am more intensely and more acutely disturbed about it. It is this:

What is the large number of highly intelligent men and women, who are Jews, doing outside the Synagog? Why are the creators of science, of art, of literature—the men who make for world-thought movement—why are they found outside the organized institutions of religion?

After rather thoughtful and somewhat searching analysis, on my part most earnestly and most humbly attempted, I have come to realize to my utter dismay, that the American and the European Jewish as well as non-Jewish pulpits do not offer the intellectual food, the motivating force, and the spiritual reality which these men need in order to help in the carrying on of the thought-movement of the world.

Until we assume the responsibility which this condition imposes and, by being honest with ourselves, are ready and eager to offer the thing which the most yearning noble hearts everywhere desire—Truth, as seen by the great alert and searching seers in their sublime moments—until we do that, the Jewish youth of America and of other parts, who are thinking, will continue to leave us, and together with the creators they will create, moving the world's wheels outside religion's official fold.

This is the challenge that I find. It is a very palpable challenge.

Personally, I do not care for ideals merely formulated; unless they be alive, pulsating within the tissues of living men. To have those, who, by their mental and emotional prowess have proved themselves the elect of the race—to have those outside the Synagog, religion's organization, is something which casts no small aspersions upon our ministerial calibre, and thus dims the luster of the ideals upon our lips.

Dr. Enelow, in his scholarly and thoughtful address has mentioned one quotation, the content of which when applied, could offer the synagog a stupendous program, which would not only yield us opportunities to justify ourselves in the highest sense, as leaders of the people, but also, the most intellectually and spiritually minded would join the ranks of the synagog to pour their energies and their rare talents into its channels. Dr. Enelow quoted: "Zeh Eli Veanvehoo, this is my God and I will praise Him." But to find out God we must have no opinions to justify, no pre-judgment to uphold; but should proceed in the spirit of a true Choker Vedoresh, seeing with unbiased open eye the actuality of things.

Men like Einstein do not go to the laboratory with opinions ready made; whether they deal with star, planet, or human heart—they put no muzzle on it. They ask God to speak, and no matter what he says, they listen, and bow in humility to the power of His word, exclaiming: "This is the Truth of the World." The reason we are not leaders of thought, is because the people do not believe in us. They know us to be men with pre-judgments not tried, ideals not tested, visions not seen. Until we face this fact squarely by being honest with ourselves, we cannot hope to maintain our self-respect in the sphere of the workers and the creators of humanity.

Rabbi Levinger: It is a very difficult task to speak on this remarkable series of papers which would have been, I think, still more remarkable if the original order had been preserved, and Dr. Goldenson's had come at the end instead of the beginning.

I have just one point that I want to add to the discussion, and it is a bit off the line of argument on universalism and nationalism which has been our chief preoccupation.

This is it: We dare not have a new reform orthodoxy in our reform Jewish thought. We are forming such an orthodoxy, an orthodoxy on a theological basis.

It has been said in several of these papers and discussions that our ground is shifting from the theological to the social and the scientific. But our religious basis and the basis of thought of all the world still rests fundamentally upon our theology, upon our great fundamental conceptions of God and Man.

Dr. Neumark isn't the only man here who maintains that. I think we all feel that way. And our reform Jewish theology cannot have a creed, now or ever.

Dr. Morgenstern said we were not ready for a creed twenty years ago. I believe we will never be ready for a Reform Jewish creed, because change is fundamental in our conception. It is the first of the three principles which Dr. Enelow brought out with such trenchant force.

We just heard in Dr. Morgenstern's paper that 39 years ago Dr. Kohler as a radical leader of those days, wrote radical principles into the Pittsburgh Platform. Now, I have had the great honor of assisting Dr. Kohler in preparing the English version of his "Jewish Theology," and I feel that the greatest contribution of that Jewish theology is the historical section of it, and that the lesser contribution, if I may speak in that way of my revered teacher, is the systematic part of it, because that represents only another stratum, and another and another, in the progress of our theology and our religious thought.

Theology is still interesting to the people. The great Christian denominations are divided today on a theological basis. The one real encounter of this Conference occurred yesterday afternoon on a purely theological and theoretical problem. That is the type of problem we must face and rebuild in our generation. It is the thing we are interested in; it is the thing we want to know. Moreover, it is a thing we must do for ourselves, because on social lines the whole world is progressing and we can progress as a

part of this great movement, while on theological grounds, our own Jewish theology is a part of this continual stream of Jewish thought, resting on the basis of our Jewishness, and we must think it out for ourselves.

There are certain definite applications for us. I have so many things in mind, not only practical things like Sabbath and Chanakah. Our God idea is evolving with the progress of science. Our idea of the soul is being revolutionized with the new discoveries of psychology. Our ideas of social justice are expanding day by day, and year by year. Even this matter that has been so emphasized, of universalism, applies not only, let us remember, to the Jewish nation; it applies also to the American nation and the European nations, and if we are going to be consistent universalists we have to face both problems of Jewish and American nationalism, with the same theory, and at the same time. This progress concerns every one of our fundamental theories and our fundamental ideas; they are growing, we have to work them out and think them out, step by step, generation by generation.

This is a part, not only the outcome of the social problem; it is also one of the fundamental points of the great social reconstruction as well. If we are rethinking our ideas on social problems and their application to the world around us, we are also rethinking our ideas on theological problems and their bearing upon the universe and our relation to the great Spirit of the universe too. It is a part of the very mind of the group, of our Jewish people, of our Reform Jewish group which is changing and evolving not in word only, not up to a certain point where we will have stopped with a new orthodoxy, cut off short,—and then with another left wing evolving in another direction. No! If we are changing and evolving we are going forward together and we are thinking out our new ideals bit by bit on the great fundamental verities of our own souls, of our relation to God, of our people and of humanity.

Rabbi Mayerburg: Mr. Chairman, I arise for one purpose. For seven years I have sat in this Conference and my name has been recorded only in the index. I will use this time to put it where it belongs.

My colleagues, it would be presumptuous for me to discuss the magnificent papers that have really been so stimulating, and that have so buoyed me up in my hope for the future and for my people.

I am not so much concerned now with the Faith as I am with the bearers of the Faith. We have analyzed our Faith in the past and in the future. If I may do so without presumption, I should like to speak rather of the men that are to carry the Faith to our people. That has not been touched upon in any of those magnificent papers that have been offered, and I believe that it is time for us to analyze ourselves as well as the Faith that we hold.

I say, not in a spirit of criticism, that I think we are the most complaisant body of men on the face of the earth. I think that we prate of a mission and we have no missionaries to carry the word of God to the people who crave and yearn for it. We enter our pulpits and we preach to the community and to the world and to the country and we forget the people through whom those teachings must be exemplified in order that they may carry them to the people they meet; that they may live the kind of lives that will make them worthy of being called the Priest People.

I refer especially at this time to the smaller communities of America. I believe here that we have a great problem which rivals our woeful lack of organization in our large cities.

Scattered throughout this country in the outposts, in the small towns, in the villages, we have Jews who are isolated and who crave for the word of God, who yearn for it, and who are forgotten.

Yes, we go to them when we have a Union drive; we go to them for hospitals and for synagog extension; we appeal to them for everything that we want, and when they want a word spoken by a rabbi, they are either rejected or they are asked to pay such exorbitant amounts that they cannot have the privilege and the blessing of a man who is ordained.

I know whereof I speak, men. I speak from experience, for in my own State I have heard the cry raised by laymen. I do not charge it, but I bring you their reports, that it is generally thought that the rabbi, who is supposed to be a servant of God, uses his

profession for commercial advancement, and that he is concerned with what he gets, and not with what he gives.

I do not say it is true about all. There is in Ohio, a small community that I have been privileged to serve this year, without compensation. I deserve no credit for it, but that community has appealed to colleagues of mine in the State of Ohio and has been refused because it could not give a rabbi sufficient compensation for the trouble of leaving his home to bring them a spiritual message, and that has occurred not in one, but in three communities in Ohio.

It is noteworthy that some of my colleagues in Ohio and in other states find it convenient to leave their homes for extended tours to make speeches before Chambers of Commerce and other organizations, when large honorariums are given.

My thought is this, men, that if we are to be a missionary people and to carry the word of God, that the highest paid ministry in the world should at least give as much gratuitous service to the Cause as possible. Let us go home stimulated by this Conference to such an extent that there shall be no community around our towns and cities that shall be without our service, and let them not come to us, let us go to them with that self-renunciation of the prophets and say, "Here is the word of God; come, drink from the fountain of Truth."

Rabbi Julian Morgenstern: I am profoundly grateful to this Conference for the opportunity given to me to make the study which I did. I am inclined to think that I profited by the presentation of my paper more than any of you may have done. It has brought home to me very concretely and very clearly a number of facts which I felt before rather than knew perfectly. I admire Dr. Goldenson's paper, and I followed him in spirit; but I cannot go as far and as fast. I cannot see that vision, which he pictured to us, coming as rapidly as he seems to hope that it may come. Why can I not do that? Because my study has brought home one thing to me, that philosophy is one thing, and religion another thing. Philosophy is in a way truth. It is something quite distinct from and independent of practical realization, but

religion is a very practical thing. Religion means reducing truth to human practice; it means the attempt of man to bring that truth into his life, to realize it in his living; and man is marked by such finite limitations that he invariably falls short. Yet when it comes to religious practice, we have to deal not only with truth as a theory or with truth as an absolute fact, but with truth hemmed in by men's limitations—how men will realize that truth.

We have a wonderful vision in Judaism, it is true, a world of wonderful Messianic vision, that we all hope and labor to have realized. We have a wonderful vision of social betterment; we have many wonderful ideas that we are all striving for. But how are we to realize them?

The thing impressed upon me is this, that the agent, the means, whereby the truths of Judaism are to be made realities is the Jewish people. We cannot get away from that. I am not a left wingist and I am not a right wingist. I think I stand somewhere in between. We cannot leave out of consideration the Jewish people; we cannot follow the idealism of a program too rapidly and leave the body of Israel behind us. We have got to hold fast to our connection with Israel. We are a mission people, yes; but in fulfilling that mission we must not lose our own people; we must be, if you will, missionaries to Israel first. We cannot go alone, I affirm again, as a sect in Judaism, but it is Judaism as a body, as a unit, that must affirm this truth. And if a few of us go ahead too rapidly, too theoretically, too idealistically, and leave the body of the house of Israel behind, then we are, I think, failing in our mission, even when we think we realize it. I tried to touch in my paper on this very thing, when I spoke of the one failure that I saw in Reform Judaism, namely to provide for the spiritual hunger, the spiritual yearning after God of the individual. We must satisfy that; we must satisfy many things; but always with that close and warm contact with the body of Israel. That is why I speak of American Judaism.

I do not shut my eyes to the existence of Orthodoxy and Reform today; and I do not mean, when I speak of American Judaism, that I identify that completely with our present-day Reform Judaism, excluding Orthodoxy. When I speak of American

Judaism I express the hope that all Jews here in America will gradually grow together. Somebody said that the limitation upon immigration will now give us the opportunity to develop concretely. We have passed that stage where we must constantly hold ourselves in check, so as not to lose our contact with our Orthodox brethren. This gives us the opportunity to develop a unified American Judaism, or Jewry. It will take another generation, two generations, but it is coming rapidly; and the Judaism of that unified American Jewry will be the American Judaism which I have in mind. I do not say that it will be the direct continuation of our Reform Judaism. Our Orthodox brethren, too, will make a very valuable contribution to this American Judaism of tomorrow.

That is what I am looking forward to now. Then we will be able to develop the Judaism of the future, and true world Judaism, too; but we can achieve this only by holding fast to our contact with the whole people of Israel. I am not concerned whether it is a national or a religious unity. I know only that Israel is a unit, and that we may never lose sight of this fact.

One other thing I want to say. One of the men I admire most is Geiger because of the tremendous restraint which he exercised upon himself, because he was perfectly willing to be in thought quite a bit ahead of what he was in practice; because he was not willing to lose his contact with his congregation, and his contact with his colleagues, and his contact with the whole house of Israel, and stand out too pronouncedly as an individual. It is true that he did not hesitate to affirm his beliefs; but it is also true that he attempted to put them into practice only with moderation, after discussing them thoroughly with his congregation and with his colleagues, year after year, repeatedly, and being content to make progress slowly.

One of the things we have suffered from in past years in America is too rampant an individualism among our rabbis. Too many of our rabbis have sought to stand out as individualists, one having fathered this and one having fathered that. The time is past for that. This Conference is an extremely valuable organization to which we can bring our problems, our suggestions, the

remedies which we propose for our problems, and discuss them. I believe that not until we have a fairly good consensus of opinion, or at least a fairly strong minority behind us, ought we to go ahead with any great innovations. Let us make our progress slowly, unitedly, testing everything carefully. In the sharing of opinions there is great wisdom, and that is one thing we need.

Professor Buttenweiser: I did not intend to take part in the discussion. I enjoy to hear such sincere expressions of opinion on the part of the members of the Conference, and particularly of the younger members.

I wish to correct a certain statement in my friend and colleague, Dr. Morgenstern's paper, not just because I want to correct, but because I think the correction has a decided bearing on the main question at issue, on the vital question in which we are concerned.

Dr. Morgenstern referred to stagnation in the German Reform movements which started, according to his opinion, in the '70s of the last century, and he ascribed this stagnation to causes within the country in which the movement arose. And later on in speaking of the first stage of the American Reform movement, that followed the German, he says it was transplanting the German Reform movement to America, superficially revised. Now I want to take issue with these two statements and just for the reason that it has direct bearing on the main question in which we are concerned.

The stagnation of the German Reform movement was in no wise due to external conditions. It was, as the word "stagnation" implies, due to internal faults and to inherent conditions. It was due to the fact that it lacked consistency in the most extreme manner. Dr. Morgenstern brought that out very well. He gave a minute description of all the efforts the German Reformers made and pointed out that they lacked the most essential quality in order to carry anything to a successful issue, the courage of conviction. It was due to this that it utterly failed; it was not due to the fact that laymen did not take part in this movement.

It was likewise due to this fact: the Reform movement as it was carried on had no message for them. It did not command

their respect. It had no meaning for them. I needn't state the details because Dr. Morgenstern himself stated them, they were afraid of everything, they were concerned with trifling, immaterial matters, they did not take any decisive stand on the very essentials, they were afraid of criticism; they were afraid to translate their views into life, and the result of this was utter indifference on the part of German Jewry. And not only this, it brought about conditions which never arose in this country, and never could arise. That so many turned away from Jewry was due to the fact that their leaders had no message to offer them. And we should bear this in mind in order to realize how alone we can succeed in this country.

When German reform was transplanted to this country, naturally it was in its origin, German. It was not superficially revised, but it was radically revised. It was radically revised, to my mind, by the Pittsburgh Platform. The Pittsburgh Platform was a creative deed, and will for all time remain a creative deed. It guides and directs us still. Here were laid down the leading principles, and the reformers who framed this Platform took pains to translate these principles into life, and it is along these lines that we have to work if we want to serve and satisfy the needs of the present. We must have the courage of our conviction; we must not stop short; we must carry our views to their ultimate consequences. By this alone we can thrive.

Professor Neumark: Let me begin with an historical remark, to do justice and to give credit to those who deserve credit.

It was said here by two of our members that German Reform failed because they had no Biblical criticism. (Laughter).

When Samuel Hirsch wrote his philosophy, he was still in Germany, but more than that, Zunz in the year 1868, published an essay in the Zeitung of the Deutsche Morgenlaendishe Gesellschaft, wherein he anticipated the entire criticism and the entire structure of Wellhausen.

The three papers which we are discussing, have all one basis in that they show us eloquently and with great accuracy, how reform developed out of orthodoxy. They are still working on

this problem—only on this problem. Not that I deprecate this work, it is still necessary and we must do it again and again.

But this is not the only thing, or the most important thing. The difficulty we face today is not orthodoxy. If the orthodox do not come to us it is for the same reason that our own pew-holders, the reformed people do not come. We do not offer them anything that attracts them. You are speaking all the time of technique, of mechanical changes.

What I mean is a very, very serious matter. We speak to the people in the name of God; we speak of our souls—the words mean nothing to them—absolutely nothing. That is why they don't come.

Only two speakers have touched on this subject, two of the younger ones. I have occasion, very often, to speak with intelligent men, doctors, lawyers, graduates of colleges. They say, "I went to listen to a rabbi in that temple. He didn't tell me anything to cause me to believe in what he says. It doesn't mean anything to me."

Rabbi Levinger said that we stand on the old ground of tradition, but that is not sufficient. Our fathers and their fathers before them in their orthodox frame of mind were willing to rely upon the rabbi. They didn't expect the rabbi to tell them who God is and what the soul is, and what it means. They had no scientific education and they did not read things that the young people read nowadays. If a young man reads a book that contains some principles of physics, he thinks he knows it all. Then he goes and listens to the rabbi and says, "It's all bunk." They do say it and you know they do.

We have heard three excellent papers and discussions, but this matter was taken for granted. Your God conception today cannot be the same as it was in the olden times. We must have literature, lectures, discussions on this topic: What is God? What is the Soul? What do you mean when you say that you don't believe in God? What do you mean when you say you do believe in God? You must have a God idea that suits our time; that suits our knowledge.

I do not yield to anybody in respect and reverence for Dr. Kohler, he has given us something very fine indeed, (it came to my mind when Rabbi Levinger spoke of it), I remember what he said about the God conception. The most important thing is that he goes according to a mistaken interpretation. He is not responsible for it. It is general in all books on the subject. It says you cannot know what God is. But I tell you, if you cannot know what a thing is, it does not exist. No matter in what frame you put it, it does not exist for you. You must have a definite, positive conception of it; it must be the most real thing that you live in; it must be the most immediate, undoubted and durable reality. If it isn't this, it isn't real. You can put it in very nice phrases; you can even devote emotion to it but you will not awaken those elements in your congregation.

Do you know why we have trouble with Sabbath observance? Do you know why the people do not want to give up their business for an hour on the Sabbath to come to the temple? Do you think if they had a God conception, a living God in their hearts, that they would not come to you on the Sabbath? They would give up everything if they believed in God, and if they knew what you mean when you say God, and Soul.

Rabbi Schwartz: Mr. Chairman, rabbis, I think that I can duplicate the experience of the members, and even double it—perhaps a little more than double.

It is fifteen years that I am out of college as a rabbi, and I still have even after all these years, a hesitancy and fear to speak before the Conference. I have never been able to get over that feeling, and I can assure you in all sincerity and in earnestness, if someone here present could in one way or another express that something for which I have been searching so many, many years, and the search has never been rewarded, if someone of the older rabbis present here could but express it, that I would gladly desist from speaking even now.

It seems to me that we are all trying to find what Judaism really is. Is it Orthodoxy? Is it Reform? Is it Nationalism? What is it? Is it Universalism?

Personally, I have never been able to answer it to my own satisfaction or to the satisfaction of others. I don't think personally that it is answerable. I am trying to utter my own thoughts, just as they are in my mind, and I want you to have a little patience with me. I don't think that the question has ever been answered or that the problem has ever been solved.

I think that if you start out arguing the question as it has been argued again and again, that you will find that it has always been to a large measure a matter of temperament, not merely with us here, but with the prophets and with the rabbis and with the sages. You can argue from the Bible and from the rabbis and from the philosophers that Judaism is Orthodoxy, that it is Universalism, that it is Nationalism, or ethical culture or whatever you want and probably prove it to your own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of some others.

This is an observation that I made even while I was at the college. Just as a background, let me say that I was brought up in an Orthodox home, a home steeped in Orthodoxy. I studied it; I do not know if there are very many here in the audience perhaps who have gone through the course of Orthodox training that I went through up to the age of twenty. I studied in some of the most prominent *yeshivas* in Europe and attended also a modern seminary in Europe, and I found, even while I was at the college that the men who are born and brought up here in America always lean a little more toward Orthodoxy, toward Conservatism; that they always have a leaning toward tradition and they think that that is the real Judaism, and not the progressive Judaism that we are trying to express in our lives. And I have never been able to explain it, except on the ground that perhaps they have never seen the real workings of Orthodox Judaism in practice. They have merely acquired a knowledge of it through books.

I can assure you that that Orthodoxy for which some of you are yearning, is not a bit superior to Reform. Not only is it not superior, but I can assure you that it has not the depth, it has not the sincerity, it has not the earnestness, it has not the honesty and the conviction of the Judaism that we here, the so-

called Progressives, (I do not know whether that is the right term or not), are trying to instill into the hearts of the Jews of America.

There are, I think, in all of us the two natures, the emotional and the rational. If you want to prove that Judaism is Zionistic, that it is national, you can find ample passages in the prophets to sustain your argument. If you want to prove that it is universal, surely you can find ample passages and expressions in the prophets that Judaism is universal.

Now what are the Orthodox, or the Conservative spirit and principles to which we would want to go back, or which we would want to uphold? Would you want to go back to the Orthodoxy of the Bible? Would you want to go back to the Orthodoxy of the prophets; or to the Orthodoxy of Maimonades; or to the Orthodoxy of the Shulchan Aruch? To which traditional Judaism would you want to go back?

I think that both Dr. Enelow and Dr. Morgenstern have expressed it well. There is this continuous development, a continuous revelation in Judaism that has manifested itself and that has expressed itself throughout our history. The question is now: Where are we going to stop? Who is to be the authority? Who is to be the final, the last, and the supreme authority on Judaism? I would like to hear from any one of you, who is the final authority or who has ever been the final authority in Judaism, to say that this and this alone is Judaism; an authority that has been universally accepted by all Jews at one and the same time? I do not know of any such authority in history and I challenge any one here to prove that there ever has been such authority in Judaism.

I think that it is merely the emotional in us Jews, as sometimes there comes to me the idea that perhaps the Judaism that I saw in the little village where I was brought up, (when I went home to visit my mother, and saw the little Shule and the Judaism that was being practiced there), was perhaps the only Judaism. Then when I come back here and when we utter our prayers here with all the liberal ideas, expressing the hope for the day when we all shall be one, then I say, "Surely this is the

finest and the greatest expression of Judaism." So personally I cannot see how we really can come to a final conclusion of what Judaism is.

There is only one thought that I want to express and it was expressed by one of the greatest Talmudists, by Jehuda ha-Nasi, when he said in answer to those who censured him for doing a thing which they said had never been done before, "My forefathers expanded, and the rabbis left me ample space in order that I might expand and grow." I have the same authority, and it seems to me that we rabbis of today, in our humble and modest way, have the same authority to grow and expand and to aspire, in order to give our children and our age a similar opportunity to satisfy the need of our day.

Rabbi Philipson: It seems to me that this Symposium has shown us several striking things. In the first place it has brought out the fact that Reform has a history. It is no longer a new thing. We have had it in the United States for a hundred years.

It has also brought out the very remarkable fact that was so brilliantly set forth by Dr. Enelow in his unusual paper. I have read, I think, nearly everything on Reform Judaism, and I want to say that I have nowhere seen any exposition which to my mind puts the matter in a finer and clearer, more incisive, and more trenchant manner than did Dr. Enelow this afternoon.

Dr. Enelow had as his subject the Theoretical Basis of Reform. I think what he brought out is the fact that we must bear in mind, that after all theory and principle do count. We are too much given, here in the United States, to the practical side. It is important, but all that we have accomplished in Reform has only been made possible because we had the principle, and the theory, and if Dr. Enelow's paper has done nothing else, it has brought that fact home to us very strongly. The roots must be fed or the tree will die. We must have strong and sound and clear thinking or the institutions cannot continue.

Now our Reform Judaism has this theoretical side, and whatever we have done in a practical way has been made possible only

because we have had these roots to draw upon, and I feel that the indebtedness to Dr. Enelow is very great, for having brought this out so very clearly.

This discussion has taken a very wide range. Some speakers have not discussed the paper at all, but it was most interesting to hear them, and I am very glad that some of these men have taken the opportunity to speak as they have, out of their hearts, even if they have not discussed the papers proper.

In the things that have been said, both yesterday and today, a great deal has been argued by some of the speakers on the subject of the People as against the Faith, Judaism versus Jew, and it has been made to appear that Reform Judaism in some way or other, has entirely discriminated against the people. Let this be understood very clearly: Reform Judaism has only a different interpretation of this matter of the Jewish people. Reform Judaism speaks of the Jews as a religious people, a people unique in the world. And wherein lies the uniqueness of this Jewish people? In the fact that it is different from every other small people. It is not a political unit any more, whatever it may have been once upon a time. Why hark back to the political conception of the ception? We are 2500 years later than the prophets. We have progressed. We have advanced. We have a different conception of these things. The eternal things of the prophets we all agree upon.

Now this people is unique in that it is the religious people, different from other peoples of the world, and I wish that that might be stressed more, that our difference from our brethren in this matter is not that we have not the conception of the Jewish people, but they think of the Jewish people as a political or a national unit and we think of the Jewish people as a religious unit. That is the difference as far as I have been able to make out, from the study of the Reform movement, and that has been the distinction from the start.

The Pittsburgh Conference has been spoken of very frequently. I am sorry I am getting along in years, but this thing is always accentuated for me whenever these things are referred to. I said to someone while Dr. Morgenstern was reading his

paper, that Dr. Kohler and I are the only two persons living who were at that Conference, and I was corrected, and rightly so. Dr. Hahn is still living, though he is no longer in the ministry, and I had forgotten him. And I believe that I overlooked the fact that Rabbi Henry Cohen had been there.

I recall that Conference very well. I was the youngest man there. I was made Secretary because that is always the privilege of the youngest man—or it was in those days.

Dr. Kohler called the Conference, and I saw a letter only last night, which Dr. Wise wrote to Dr. Kohler after Dr. Kohler had sent out his call. It is in the possession of Dr. Kohler now, and there Dr. Wise writes about his sympathy with the call for this Conference. It is a letter of historical interest. That Pittsburgh Conference had been called by Dr. Kohler. There was one before that in 1869, and one before that in Cincinnati, but the Pittsburgh Conference was really epoch-making because, as was said, it was creative in many things. The Conference met for a few days in Pittsburgh in November. The Declaration of the Pittsburgh Conference, I may say here, was not the creation of Dr. Kohler altogether. He came to Pittsburgh with his declaration which he had written out. That program of his was referred to a Committee and those eight rubrics of that declaration were formulated and thought out by that Committee and I think one or two were added which were not at all in Dr. Kohler's platform.

I believe I said in my book (written in 1907), that the Pittsburgh Platform remained the clearest expression of the principles of Reform Judaism which had yet been formulated, and I almost feel that way today. It is a very remarkable expression of principles.

The men who were at Pittsburgh had resolved to come together again, it was not to be an isolated Conference at all. We were to have met in Cincinnati. Dr. Wise was the President of that Pittsburgh Conference, but because of some unfortunate occurrence in rabbinical circles that Conference never convened. I knew nothing about the calling off of the Conference and I came from Baltimore to Cincinnati to attend the convention. It was intended that the Pittsburgh Conference should merely be the

first of yearly conferences such as we have now. Dr. Wise finally accomplished that when he had enough of his own pupils to make sure that there could be a Conference, and then the Central Conference of American Rabbis met in Detroit, we are here as a result of that movement.

Rabbi Thurman: I want to give my reaction, if I may, to these three papers which were given in so reverse an order. I should have been happier if Dr. Enelow had read his paper first and then we would have seen perhaps that there was a real connection between the three papers.

I don't think that Dr. Enelow's masterpiece was written in a sense to defend theory or the theory of Reform Judaism alone. There certainly was red-hot life in it. And then the paper by Dr. Morgenstern which spoke of Reform Judaism as the sweetness of the consciousness of Judaism, and finally the paper by Dr. Goldenson which emphasized, if I may so interpret it, the present yearning which we Reform Jews or leaders of Reform Jews must have. The Revaluation of Reform Judaism.

I am not worried, as my good friend Rabbi Brickner is, about the formation of left wings or right wings or centers in this Conference. I think it is a healthy thing that we should come here and should differ among ourselves. I should feel very sad if we all came here and had a perfectly harmonious Conference so far as our interpretations of Judaism, theoretically at least, were concerned. But I am worried as to how we shall put over these three papers when we get home, and I am sure that with all the splendid defense that Dr. Enelow had made of Faith or Belief, he will not deny me the right to interpret the greater challenge that comes to us Reform Jews today, which is not the question of Faith, but really is in the question of deed. There are challenges to the Jew today which we must recognize, not as Reform Jews or as Orthodox Jews, but just simply as Jews.

If I had the genius to crystallize these three papers and to put them over, not in one sermon, but in a dozen or a score, to my members, and if you, each and every one of you could do the same thing, then I think we should go away feeling happy and

we should return next year with a report of great achievements. But it cannot be done unless we should all be fired with one resolve.

We may differ in our interpretations of historical Judaism, or of Reform as an historical development. We may differ in our interpretations as to the achievements of Reform; we may not agree as to the real values of certain reforms which we have introduced to the exclusion of great and noble traditions or traditional practices, but one thing I maintain, brethren, and that is this: that if we cannot, with Dr. Neumark, know God as he knows God, and if we cannot speak to our people and tell them what God is or who God is, we can all of us know goodness, or at least speak to our people about goodness.

Some of the laity accuse us now—at least I have heard it all over the country—that you cannot get a rabbi nowadays unless you pay him $5,000 or $6,000, "They have a monopoly," they say, "they have a trust." For the time being the supply seems to be smaller than the demand. But I have never heard it said that the rabbis of this country have a monopoly on Goodness. In fact, fellow-members, it seems to be quite the contrary, the great leadership in goodness is now in the hands of the laity, and not in the hands of the rabbinate, and you all heard it said to you yesterday, and you applauded it. The reason why we cannot put over this godliness to our people is because we are not banded together in a trust for goodness. If all the rabbis in the country, and that would include the Orthodox as well as the Reform, were determined to banish bootlegging among our people, we could do it, if we would but support one another, and if some of us did not smile about it and condone it smugly, contentedly and nonchalantly. Let it not be said that because Rabbi So-and-So is constantly speaking on a text from the Bible, he is out-of-date. Let it not be our chief pride that the people say of us that we are good mixers and we are good fellows. If Reform Judaism is to be revaluated, it must be on this basis: that all the Reform rabbis, (and I believe they would easily invite all other rabbis with them), were to stand as one man to speak and to preach and to exhort and to exhort again and again, just for goodness—that was the

theory, if I understand Dr. Enelow's paper correctly, the chief basis for Reform, the belief in God and the spreading of that belief as it was interpreted in the achievements of Reform Judaism, the sweeping of the consciousness of Judaism away from the legalism, and finally the most remarkable appeal of Dr. Goldenson for a fellowship in goodness.

Rabbi Simon resumes the chair.

Rabbi Clifton H. Levy: I want to claim for myself a special pleasure. I have been able to enjoy this paper of Dr. Enelow more than you because I read it and I heard it and I think when you read it you will be able to gather from it much more than was possible even from the very wonderful presentation that we received. We would not then go so fa rafield in our discussion of this very important paper.

I had anticipated that out of these three papers that were to be presented on Reform and a Revaluation of Reform, that we would arrive possibly at a platform which would mark some advance, which would indicate our change of ideas since the Pittsburgh Platform was drawn up. I think there have been some changes. There are many changes that might be cited today which were impossible then, which were not necessary then.

Some of our men, in discussing this problem, it seems to me, are one-sided. In our academies, in our universities the department of philisophy includes logic, psychology and ethics. That was the old-fashioned classification of the department of philosophy.

Our religion, I believe, falls within just those divisions, and when some of us put the emphasis on one side and some on the other, I think we are not broad enough. We do not grasp the full significance of the whole problem.

I see, I think, where our difficulty lies. Many of us fail to appreciate the differences in human nature. When my friend Rabbi Witt pleads for a variety of services he is only going back 31 years to the time when Dr. Krauskopf in dedicating his new temple in Philadelphia, presented a ritual of nineteen services and

had anticipated and planned fifty-two, one for every week in the year. This was to supply that need which he sensed 31 years ago, the need of the people for a ritual which would appeal to them, which, while it preserved something of the tradition, yet would reach the soul of the people of today.

We are concerned, I think, with a very practical problem, the problem of bringing home to our people the philosophy which has been so beautifully presented to us. I do not wish to put it as a motion, I think it may be safely left to our Executive Board, but it would not be beyond our hope that they would find it in their wisdom to order the printing of Dr. Enelow's paper, not to make any invidious comparison at all, but simply because it is basic, the thing which your people should know, should be able to read, and not only that, something which we can present to the world as the position of Reform Judaism, so clearly set forth as it has never been before presented. It is something of which we need not be ashamed, of which we may be proud, something upon which we may dwell with a good deal of self-gratulation, I believe.

But further than that, building upon that basis may I express the hope that within a year or so we may be in a position, as the result of further papers, to develop a platform which will announce just as clearly as did the Pittsburgh Platform, the positions we must take today, and we will take into consideration at that time, I think, the trend toward which we are moving, or the trend which is animating us.

I am not bothered, we need not waste any time in a discussion of Orthodoxy, or even of Zionism. They will take care of themselves. If we attend strictly to our business of developing the very best that is in us, according to these theses, we may be sure that we will accomplish our work, and then we will develop a real American Judaism which will be in line with the traditions of our people. But I do see a division which will come. The Episcopalian Church, for instance, has its high church and its low church. They all have the same creed, they call themselves the same church, yet one is very close to the Catholic Church in its ritual, and the other is almost Methodistic. I think I see, on

account of the varying tastes of our people, a time when some group will get together and have a Reform service filled with ceremonialism, expressing its ideas, while on the other hand there may be another group that will be almost Unitarian in the simplicity of its service. One will be the highly intellectual to whom certain things do not appeal, forms and ceremonies will be reduced to a minimum; the other may have forms and ceremonies of far greater elaborateness, but each group may be just as keen, just as logical in its perception of its Faith, for that is purely a matter of taste about which we cannot discuss. So cannot we understand that we may work together beautifully and harmoniously, starting from the basis of this wonderful paper on Reform Judaism, and developing it according to the need of our people and according to our times.

Rabbi Samuel S. Kaplan: There are two points that I would like to make with regard to these three inspiring papers.

The first point is an historical analysis; the second is a constructive attitude or policy that I would like to have emphasized, and on which I would like to have more light from the men, who have devoted much more time and thought to it than I have.

An idea came to me, when Dr. Goldenson read his paper, similar to the notion that I had when I first went into a large New York Temple, on the Ark of which was written—Ain zeh Ki im Beth Elohim,..V'zeh Shaar Hashomayim—This is the Gate to Heaven. He brought us younger men up to a certain pragmatic point of view, gave us a philosophical analysis from the point of view of American thought, as he has developed it in reaction to the experimental theory of knowledge, and left us there, after this approach to the subject of the Revaluation of Reform Judaism. I would that he had taken us farther, and given us a constructive policy to carry out in our lives.

He brought us to the gate, whence the divine light of truth in logic; in rational man, consecrates the ministry to God; and then when Dr. Enelow delivered his message I concluded the verse from scripture—V'onochi lo Yodati—Practical sociology and modern thought met with the vision of idealism. The creative in-

telligence of Bergson, or the "Motivating force" of Enelow, is the vitalizing force of Israel's consciousness, as it is that of the individual. It is the Sechel Ha Poel of Maimonides. The Ruach Hakocksh of the Prophets. The divine fiat of personality in the actualizing of the latent possibilities of value in a unique people.

Then my historical analysis went back this way. You have the Bible and commentaries, Saadia and Maimonides, who determined Spinoza. He in turn made a profound impression on Moses Mencbelsohn, whose work so influenced Emanuel Kant in his Kritik. Our thinking of today bears the indelible imprint of the two currents of thought in these men—Kantian and Aristotlean philosophy. The one individualistic and tribalistic, emphasizing the present moment; the other Universalistic. The one gropes in modern experiment; the other dreams in eternal hope. Dr. Goldenson let us, in his masterful way, into a world, where we as Jews and as rabbis must eventually come to the Great Unknown, and there to be honest with ourselves, we have no message and no mission, and there is no raison d'etre for the Children of Israel.

Then Dr. Enelow came with his message, in which he gave us some "Motivating Force," some energy, by which we were to carry on our life and our existence: While Dr. Morgenstern gave us a historical review, together with which we were to link our fate in the chain of eternity.

To me, it seems, we reform Jews have taken the Kantian philosophy as expressed in Dr. Kohler's theology; and the modern humanism, that has grown out of an adjustment to a mechanical age; and in each instance either we grope in the dark or approach the great Unknown. In this spirit many talk about God and preach religion.

The thing to do in my mind is to retrace our steps—and eliminate the rudiments and survivals, the idols and blind fate. Faith today demands more than mechanism or fatalism. A happy synthesis of the phenominal world and the nounenal world; the pragmatic, practical American world idea with the idealistic world, the world of ideas; must be brought about through Hebraic consciousness of God. This can be done if we but open the windows of our soul.

In order to do this, in order to have some constructive, definite policy for Judaism today we must have the urge within us.

I would not like to think that I must return to that Zionism, which I had when I came to college. Is Israel to live to be forced back to nationalistic tribalism? That view is for children, or child races. When I was a child and saw a Jew being persecuted, I said, "Mama, when I grow up and be a big man, I am going to take all the Jews back to Palestine where they belong." But that is outgrown in the Universalistic outlook of Israel's destiny.

I would not believe that Dr. Melamed is right in his statement, that the soil of the Diaspora is not fertile enough for the fruitage of the tree of Judaism. I say to you that it is my humble, youthful opinion, that the soil of American Judaism must be tilled here with the spiritual development of Israel, not impregnated with thoughts from without and filled with an artificial imitation of those German and mechanistic philosophies that lead us nowhere.

Dr. Goldenson led us to the gate, where filled with the Universalism of Israel's prophets, and the ethical religions of the day we are ready to enter the great vortex of the world as it is, to meet the problems, regardless of self—Dr. Silver would have us preserve the instincts and culture of the Jew in Palestine. Dr. Enelow said no! We cannot limit our entity and our intensity of personality. Some have dwelt on logic and others on emotion. The two can never be set apart. The Cognitive, Conative and Affective nature of man, must be bound together in the upward struggle of Humanity. (A painter loves the painting more, when he has studied the various elements in its composition) * * * Reason and feeling can never be separated. The one intensifies the other.

If we consider these things and go back and take the Jewish Ruach, the Geist Des Judentums, The Jewish Spirit; that can be the vitalizing force that Judaism in its revaluation needs today; to conserve our Jews in small towns and in our congregations, and above all in ourselves; for its great gift to humanity.

I want to thank Dr. Enelow for these few minutes.

Rabbi H. G. Enelow: I want to thank you for your very kind response to the paper which I had the privilege of presenting here this afternoon, and particularly those of you who were so kind in your comments on it.

I have listened with profound interest to every one of you who spoke here, and all I can say is that there is a good deal of truth in everything that has been said, and what has been said is bound to prove stimulating and helpful to those of us who like to see things steadily and see them whole.

My view has been for quite some time, and it has been growing upon me as I have been growing older and gathering experience, that one of the great difficulties of life, and more especially of the intellectual and spiritual life, is onesidedness, and that counterpart of onesidedness, the habit of indulging in generalities. That is the one thing I try to beware of as far as I can. No doubt, some of my hearers may think that I myself have fallen into this pitfall, but, nevertheless, I can say conscientiously that that is the thing I try to guard against most carefully.

I feel that many of the things that trouble us, and perhaps many of the assertions we make on one side or another, would not occur if we did try to see the problems with which we are dealing, from every point of view, rather than from the one particular standpoint to which we happen to be committed for the time being. Many of the things that have been said here are not exclusive of one another. Indeed, many of the things that have been said are included in one another, except that for some reason or other we think they are not. I am not going to yield to the temptation of giving instances. But I am asking you to try to think of this. If we would, I think there would be more likelihood of our arriving at helpful conclusions.

Of the subject under discussion I will say frankly the theme that interested me most was the third, namely, the prospect of Reform Judaism for the future; because, after all, that is the thing of greatest importance to us who are engaged in the practical work of carrying on and putting into effect the plans of Reform Judaism.

Dr. Goldenson has given us his treatment of this particular phase of the subject, and his forecast, and he has done so excellently. But you know that I and my friend, Dr. Goldenson, and all those who belong to his group, differ radically in this regard. That is no aspersion on Dr. Goldenson's idea. Perhaps it is a commendation. But I do differ from those who see in social service the centre of gravity and the solution of the problem of Religion, or of Judaism.

To me this emphasis upon sociology as the great theme of modern life and the chief need of modern Judaism is, to put it mildly, an exaggeration. To me this is not a distinctive feature of Judaism, nor does it form the central difficulty or distinctive task of Judaism at present.

Of course, social service is a most necessary part of modern life. It is one of the inevitable parts of that consecration which constitutes Religion. This seems to me so clear that it is like carrying coals to Newcastle to bring it into a religious discussion. Certainly social service is part and parcel of religion; but to me it is not the thing that forms the pressing need or the chief question of the Jew at the present time as far as his religion is concerned, nor the essential task of those of us who are engaged in the carrying on of religious work.

I do not see in the advocacy of more social service (or even of social justice) the solution of the problem of religion. Social service often is an escape from religion rather than a way to it. Sometimes it is the graveyard of religion. You know the old story of the Talmud—how a famous rabbi sent his son to Tiberias to study Torah and how the young man turned to social service instead—to burying the dead, or some such thing; whereupon his father demanded: "Is it because there are no graves in Caesarea that I sent you to Tiberias?"

What is, from my point of view, the great pressing need of today? The answer to this question was given by Dr. Neumark this afternoon. It is the same answer which I tried to give in a little essay I had the privilege of writing on the occasion of the anniversary of Dr. Neumark celebrated a short time ago by the students of the Hebrew Union College, and

which I called "The Practical Aspect of Dr. Neumark's Work".

When I wrote that essay Dr. Neumark served as a symbol as well as a personality. His work was a symbol. When I spoke of the practical aspect of his work as a philosopher, I meant to say that to me the kind of work Dr. Neumark has been doing as a philosopher was of import no tonly from the theoretical, or speculative, or metaphysical point of view, but also for those of us who are carrying the practical burdens of religious instruction and religious activity among the Jewish people of today.

What do I mean by this? I mean exactly what Dr. Neumark said, and what in my inadequate way I have been trying to say for years and years, in season and out of season, namely, that our greatest need at the present time is a vindication, scientific, philosophical, intellectual, or emotional—whatever you may call it—but a vindication of the fundamental truths of Religion. That is what we need today. It is because of the incomplete belief of many of our people in the real truth of the fundamental assertions of Religion, that there are all these defections among us, that there is so much perturbation and bewilderment at the present time. We need what the Jew has always called Torah—not tombs, but Torah.

The truths are there. They are universal; they are permanent parts of Religion; they go back as far as the Prophets. When we face our congregations at present, and when we face, which is even more important, our own souls, the question must arise, How do you know that these things are true? How do you know that your affirmations concerning God, concerning the relation of God to man, which is the core of Religion, concerning the human soul, concerning the hereafter, and concerning all other things which form the constant assertion of Religion, how do you know that they are really so? And if you do know that they are really so, can you demonstrate them satisfactorily?

Now, some folks say that is intellectualism. I do not say that we must necessarily demonstrate these things intellectually. I am not an extreme intellectualist at all. I do not say that we must demonstrate them in any one particular way. Let us

demonstrate them emotionally, if we can; let us demonstrate them mystically, if we can; let us demonstrate them by the aid of the researches of the psychologist, if we can. Demonstrate them in any way in your power. But the point is that we want them demonstrated in some fashion or other. We want these things to become so real to us—whether emotionally or intellectually or physically, does not matter—that our assent to them will become genuine, and being genuine they will become compulsive forces in our real life; and by real life I mean our spiritual life, our religious life, our practical life altogether. That is the gist of the position I take.

For this reason I say: Our great task for the future, of course, is to carry on those activities, whether social or private, which are put upon us by virtue of our religion. That goes without saying. Judaism without social righteousness, social application, is unthinkable. But, in addition, it is our duty to try to attain a method or a way of convincing our people of the fundamental truths of our religious affirmations, not merely by the aid of those arguments which have come down to us from the former masters of Israel and which were adequate to their times, but by the help of those instruments of intellectual discovery and emotional experience that have come within our own reach or vision in recent years. That is the great task we have before us, and it is so much more necessary and obligatory a task because of the greater scope of our liberty today.

There is no sense in debating the question of intellectual and spiritual liberty today. Whether we like it or not, it is a fact. We cannot compel anyone to believe or think in any particular fashion. Ours is an age of liberty. We want liberty. All of us want liberty. But because of this greater opportunity of liberty, we also have the greater responsibility of vindicating for ourselves on the basis of liberty, and by the methods and through the channels of liberty, those profound, everlasting religious affirmations which, after all, form the sacred ground upon which we stand when we teach religious doctrine or carry on religious work.

I do not quite agree with one of our friends who said this afternoon that in the past people accepted religious doctrine either on tradition or on the say-so of the rabbi. That is partly true, but it is not the whole truth. There have always been some people of this kind, ready to accept the dicta of authority. For that matter, there are such people today a-plenty, to whom everything is absolute truth that is uttered by their favorite rabbi or printed in their favorite paper. I doubt whether ever in the past there were examples of this kind of stupid submissiveness to authority more glaring than we find at present. Yet, I say, this is not the whole truth. Of course, it is true that some people, under the old order, acted on the principle of obedience and acceptance. But, on the other hand, it is nothing new at all in the history of Jewish thought, or Jewish life, for people to crave and demand a demonstration of religious truth, of the truth of the theses of Religion.

Throughout the ages there were many people amongst the Jews (more numerous than among others) who demanded such demonstration, whether by means of emotion, intellect, or revelation; at all times there were people who said, We want to be convinced of the truth of these things. And that is how, in the course of Jewish history, we have had those various philosophic works, those various mystical revelations, those various attempts at proving the truths of Religion, which form such an important part of the literature of the Jewish people.

I say, let us not think that this demand for a demonstration of religious truth is something new. It has always existed among us.

Therefore, my opinion is that part of the task of the Reform Jew for the future (because, as has been pointed out several times, the Orthodox—I mean the real Orthodox, not the comparative or relative Orthodox—is more ready to accept things on the say-so of tradition or authority), must be an effort to attain, in one way or another, to a convincing demonstration of the fundamental truths of Religion. Such a demonstration as would really grip the minds or hearts of our people; best of all, grip their minds and hearts together. Whenever this has

happened our work will become not only easier but a great deal more fruitful. That is why I keep on insisting that one of the great tasks of our day is a renewed cultivation of theology, the knowledge of God, and of God's relation to man; the knowledge of those things which form the essence of Religion.

I want to conclude with an expression of my appreciation of the kind manner in which you have received my paper, and the hope also that the paper may really prove helpful to all of you who have honored me by assigning it to me and listening to it in so sympathetic a way.

L

PROSPECTS OF LIBERAL JUDAISM

CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE

I had hoped and had arranged to be present at the Conference at Cedar Point, but at the last moment I was compelled to be a defaulter. Then I was most kindly asked to send a message which could have been read to the Conference. Illness prevented even this, so now I write this paper, and if it is included in the Yearbook—I mean the Report of the Conference—I feel I shall have been most generously and forgivingly treated.*

It was a great disappointment to me that I could not attend the Conference. I had greatly enjoyed the sessions at Charlevoix fourteen years ago, and I looked forward eagerly to those at Cedar Point. I wanted to come, not to speak, but to hear; not to teach, but to learn. For the headquarters of Liberal Judaism are in America. We here are a few; you over the water are many. With your big numbers there should be combined a larger air, an ampler vision. Liberal Judaism with you can be many-sided. It can develop freely: it has much elbow-room. It is likely that we in England lag behind the times; it is probable that we have prejudices and narrownesses from which you have shaken yourselves free. Perhaps what I am about to write may show you some of those prejudices and narrownesses, and afford a proof of the accuracy of what I have just said! Nevertheless, I am anxious, I must admit, to say to you one or two things which are much *on* my mind and *in* my mind. Perhaps you will think they

Note.—This paper was not presented at the Convention and was not discussed. It is printed with the permission of the President as a mark of courtesy to Mr. Montefiore, a beloved Honorary member of the Conference.—Editor.

are a survival of olden days, and are just an obsession and a needless fear. Yet I hope that not all of you will think so, and, any way, I must take the risk. I shall have to deal with controversial subjects: yet I hope I shall be able to do so with courtesy and without heat. At any rate, I wish to write with the utmost simplicity and without any rhetoric.

My subject, however, let me state at once, was given me: it was not self-chosen. I was asked to speak at the Conference on the Position and Prospects of Liberal Judaism. Of that title I have excluded the Position and kept the Prospects. For as to the position of Liberal Judaism in the world, it strikes me that you, living in the country where Liberal Judaism is most developed and flourishing, must know much more about it than I. There would not be a great deal yet to say about Liberal Judaism in England (though it is growing both directly and indirectly), and with regard to Germany and other European countries, I have little doubt that your knowledge and information are quite as good as, and probably better than my own.

I want then to speak about the Prospects of Liberal Judaism. Now one can hardly be a believing member of a given religion without also believing in its future. It is an act of faith. If a man is a believing Christian, he must believe in the ultimate triumph of Christianity; if a man is a believing Liberal Jew, he must believe in the ultimate triumph of Liberal Judaism. The one belief, I take it, involves the other. In spite of present dangers, the future is secure. For, after all, so far as Theistic religions are concerned, the source of the security is divine. Believing in Christianity or in Liberal Judaism, the man must also believe that it is the divine will to bring about, in some sense or other, and in some form or other, the triumph of the religion in which he believes. Its ultimate victory is guaranteed. Therefore his anxiety, if he has any, is, in a sense only skin deep. Beneath and below there is calm. "Underneath are the everlasting arms."

Within these limits, then, I admit that I do feel anxious about Liberal Judaism and its prospects: I feel anxious, in a party or sectarian way, if I may so express myself, as a keen Liberal Jew, but I feel still more anxious as a Jew. The future of Judaism is more than the future of Liberal Judaism; but what

if one holds, as I for one do honestly hold, that the future of Judaism is bound up with the future of Liberal Judaism? And that, for better or for worse, wisely or unwisely, is my position.

I see no hope for Judaism, and I see a terrible danger for Jews, if Liberal Judaism does not continue and spread. For I can perceive nothing between it and Orthodox Judaism, which is likely to be potent and helpful. I can perceive no other kind of Judaism than these two which can be reckoned with as a spiritual force, as a vital religious reality. These two forms of Judaism are both religious and Jewish; beside them I see no others. Now Orthodox Judaism will last for a long while: it will continue to satisfy many generations of uncritical adherents. And Orthodox Judaism, if a man fully and sincerely believes it, is a fine and spiritual religion. Above all, it *is* a religion, no less than Liberal Judaism and Christianity are *religions*.

But it appears to me impossible that Orthodox Judaism can indefinitely continue or ultimately triumph. It seems to me certain that educated persons will more and more reject it, and that its sincere believers will more and more be recruited, as the centuries move on, from the ranks of the ignorant and the uneducated. It will gradually dwindle away. People tell me that I attach too much importance to the results of Biblical Criticism, and that to most persons it does not matter a straw whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not, whether it is composite or not, whether its laws belong to one age or to many ages, whether they are Mosaic or not Mosaic, whether they were written down all at once or in the course of many centuries, whether the events recorded in "Exodus" happened or not, whether the miracles took place or did not take place. Perhaps so. But to Orthodox Judaism it matters a great deal. To Orthodox Judaism it is vital. To Orthodox Judaism it is a question of life and death. Orthodox Judaism stands or falls with the Mosaic origin, homogeneity, perfection and divineness of the Pentateuchal Law. I have often made this assertion, and I have often asked Orthodox Jews to tell me if I am right or wrong. But I have never had a direct and unequivocal reply. I fear the absence of this reply must mean that I am right, but that it is hardly expedient to say so.

For me, and for most educated persons, a religion which de-

pends upon the belief that the Pentateuchal Law is Mosaic, perfect, homogeneous and, in the fullest and most literal sense, divine, is a religion which can have no future of importance before it. It is a religion which can only live in a corner. It is a religion which very slowly, but very surely, must disappear.

If so, what is to take its place? Is there anything between it and Liberal Judaism? To my mind there is nothing at all. You may practice every law, you may observe every ordinance of Orthodox Judaism with the most scrupulous tenacity. But that does not make you an Orthodox Jew. You are only an Orthodox Jew if you believe the great dogma upon which the entire fabric of Orthodox Judaism depends. To practice without believing is, indeed, possible: it may be done from non-religious, "national" motives. But to practice without believing is not a religious practice. It cannot constitute a religion. A religion needs *belief*. There was an idea once current in Germany according to which belief did not matter; orthodoxy was a mere matter of practice. Observe the dietary laws; observe the minutiae of the Sabbath ordinances; then you are a good Jew, and you may believe, as regards the Pentateuch and the miracles and the divineness of the Law, just whatever you please. This atheistical view was known as the theory of the school of Breslau. Still less than Orthodox Judaism can a Judaism of this sort, a Judaism which declares belief to be indifferent, a Judaism without faith or doctrine, a Judaism of outward forms and rites and practices, have any future before it as a *religion* and as a religious force, whether among Jews or beyond Jews. If *this* were the only alternative to Orthodox Judaism (which *is* a religion, which *depends* on belief, which possesses faith and doctrine), then Judaism as a religion (and what is Judaism *but* a religion?) is doubly doomed.

So for me, as I see things, there is nothing between Orthodox Judaism and Liberal Judaism. There is no stable halting place between the two. The one is a religion, and the other is a religion; between them there is no religion. At least: the one is a great religion, and the other is a great religion: between them there is no great religion. The one is a great religious force and the other is a great religious force; between them there is no great

religious force. The one is a complete religious system, with its own conceptions of God and of His relation to Israel and to the world, its own conceptions of Inspiration and Revelation, of the Pentateuch and the Prophets; the other is also a complete religious system, with its own conceptions of these self-same matters. But, between or beside them, what Judaism is there, with its own complete religious system and its own conceptions? The answer, I believe, is: *none*.

Well, if all this be so,—at least, for those who, like myself, honestly believe that all this *is* so,—how tremendously important Liberal Judaism becomes! The future of Judaism depends upon it. If Liberal Judaism has no future before it, then Judaism has no future before it. If Liberal Judaism is destined to dwindle away, then Judaism is destined to dwindle away. If Liberal Judaism cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the religious history of the world, then Judaism will exercise no influence.

Primarily, however, as regards the Jews themselves. If the Jews do not become Liberal Jews, what *will* they become—that is, what will they *religiously* become? So long as they are sincerely and believingly Orthodox Jews, they are religiously secure. They possess a great religion; they can live a religious life, and rise to the highest degrees of spirituality. But as and when they cease to be sincere and believing Orthodox Jews, what is to be their religious fate if they do not become adherents of Liberal Judaism? I do not know. I see no religious resting place for them.

And now comes my trouble, and with my trouble there come up, alas, controversy and polemics.

There are, as it seems to me, forces at work which are hindering the development and diffusion of Liberal Judaism, but which are not preventing, and cannot prevent, the decay and collapse of a sincere and believing Orthodox Judaism. And among these forces Jewish Nationalism appears to me to be one—Jewish Nationalism with its reactions and recoil upon the world without. Liberal Judaism does not depend for its truth upon its environment, but it may depend upon its environment for the number, the increase, the enthusiasm of its adherents. Outside, it depends a good deal upon emancipation, toleration, good will. Inside, it

depends upon the Jews feeling, asserting, and knowing themselves to be one in all respects but religion with the peoples among whom they dwell. It depends a good deal upon the Jews asserting and feeling this unity, and upon the peoples admitting and recognizing it as well. Anti-Semitism, on the one hand, Jewish Nationalism on the other (and the two are closely connected, and act and react upon one another) are both hostile to the diffusion of Liberal Judaism. On my old slogan—which I am told belongs to the exploded ideas of 1848 and of the emancipation era,—the Jews a religious brotherhood like the Roman Catholics or the Unitarians, not a nation like the Swedes or the Danes,—on this old battle cry or ideal the strength and development of Liberal Judaism do, partially at any rate, depend. And I am still cloistered and foolish enough to believe as well as to desire that Judaism (in the shape and form of Liberal Judaism) should exercise an influence upon, and play its part in, the future religious history of the world. I am foolish enough to hope that the time may come, and to *want* that the time should come, when the adherents of Liberal Judaism will include very many who were not born within the Jewish pale.

Now I am well aware that there are several eager Liberal Jews, nay, that there are some most distinguished leaders in Liberal Judaism, who are not only keen Zionists, but keen Jewish nationalists as well. I am certain at least about the combination of convinced and eager Liberal Jew and convinced and eager Zionist, and I fancy that the other combination of convinced and eager Liberal Jew and convinced and eager Jewish nationalist exists likewise. In a sense I am glad of the existence of these combinations, though I believe them to be ill-founded and probably ephemeral. But I am glad because the fact of the combination shows that I may be quite wrong, and that my fears may be quite unjustified. Speaking generally, however, is it not true that, in the United States as in England, the Liberal Jew is usually *not* a Jewish nationalist, and the Jewish nationalist is usually *not* a Liberal Jew? Many years ago one of the noblest of men asserted to me that there *was* a true element of Jewish Nationalism in Liberal Judaism. I begged him to write a pamphlet on the subject; I pressed him continually to produce that pamphlet, but it has never appeared!

Liberal Judaism is for me essentially a universal religion; a universal religion as a whole, and not only in part. A universal religion not merely as teaching One God who is the impartial and loving Father of all mankind, but a universal religion as a complete system of doctrine and embodiment, of theory and practice. The ideal of the Liberal Jewish synagog of the future is that it shall be a house of prayer for many nations, that men and women of many races shall say, "My fountains are in thee." But how can this ideal ever be realized, how can it be worked for both in doctrine and in form, if the Jews are not a religious brotherhood, but also, or primarily, a people and a nation?*

If the Jews constitute a people or a nation, and if the word Jew means a member of a particular people or nation, then we must coin a new word, say Israelite, to mean a member of a particular religion. I must be able to be a Jew in the national sense if I am (a) a Christian, (b) an Atheist, or (c) an Israelite. But is such an idea, though modern and logical, not impossible and absurd? I believe that Jewish nationalists hold that a man is undoubtedly a Jew if he is an avowed atheist (and indeed we know that many Jewish nationalists have been and are atheists), but that he is no longer a Jew if he is baptized and becomes a Christian. Apparently, while a Dane may be of any religion or of none, a Jew must be either of the "Israelite" religion or of none. Thus we get the odd result that a man who disbelieves in God *is* a Jew, while a man who believes in Him is not! We also get the result that for the Jews alone there is an unmodern and illiberal religious test as a mark and qualification of nationality: a man must belong either to one particular religion or to none!

And if we have to admit that it is impossible to put the Jews on a level with the Danes, so that you could have Christian Jews

* To prevent misunderstanding I desire to state very plainly that, because of lack of space, I have been compelled to leave out of account, and not to consider, the position and standing of Jews in certain countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, where, as a matter of fact, the Jews are regarded as one of the sub-nationalities or extra-nationalities of whom the state, as a whole, is composed. I believe I could make out a good case even here, but I have no time to put it forward. Therefore I only consider the position of Jews in such countries as France, Italy, Holland, Germany, England and the United States, where the Jews need not be regarded as a separate and distinct sub-nationality.

and Israelite Jews, just as you have Christian Danes and Jewish Danes, then see, if there be such a thing as a Jewish people or nation, what follows. For *then,* if religion is a part of the Jewish nationhood, or if their nationhood is any part of their religion,—then Judaism is a national religion! But if Judaism be a national religion, it is not a universal religion, and the hope, the faith, the ideal, of Liberal Judaism are gone and are false. Moreover, a national religion is surely an anachronism. It is a curiosity, a survival, a museum specimen, but it has no future. It can only dwindle. The modern man will justly want to belong to a universal religion—or to none. A religion which is inseparably conditioned and limited by nationality is not the sort of religion which the modern world requires. A modern religion must be international and supernational; it must transcend the limits of race and nationality. "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations," and if that be too distant an ideal, "a house of prayer for *many* nations" is *not.* In the fold of a religion there must be room for many races. The days of a national religion are surely over. I should not care to be, or to remain, a member of the Jewish faith, if I did not believe that my non-Jewish brother, if he accepts Judaism, can be just as good a Jew, and just as much a Jew, as myself. And the dread seizes me: what is to be the religious future of the Jews and of Judaism, if the conception of Jewish Nationalism gains ground and becomes wider spread? I can see well enough why so many Jewish nationalists speak with disdain of Liberal Judaism. That is logical. But if these Jewish nationalists cannot accept Orthodox Judaism any longer, what is religiously to become of them? It seems to me quite natural and reasonable that so many of them have rejected religion altogether.

That is why, *all* this is why, I am so anxious about America—about America, the great stronghold of Liberal Judaism. That is why I am so anxious that American Jews, above all other Jews, should keep the Liberal Jewish faith pure and undefiled, that is why I view the invasion of Jewish Nationalism into America with such apprehension and concern, that is why I look to the Liberal Jewish Rabbis of America to remain faithful and staunch to the old ideas of "Judaism, a universal religion; the Jews, a religious brotherhood, not less and not more."

It is not my business or intention to say anything here about the dangers of Jewish Nationalism to Jews except religiously. The other dangers which I believe to be actual and real I leave wholly untouched. I am only concerned with the religious danger to Liberal Judaism and to Jews. I would not mind so much if Jewish Nationalism could throw Jews back into a sincere and enthusiastic acceptance of Orthodox Judaism as a whole. But it cannot do this except in isolated cases. At least it cannot do this in the case of the educated and enlightened. At the most it can induce such Jews to accept the shell of Orthodox Judaism without the substance, the forms without the spirit, the outward rites without the sanctifying and spiritualizing faith. If Jewish Nationalism drives such Jews away from Liberal Judaism, it also will almost inevitably tend to drive them away from religion altogether. This is terrible. To abstain from eating rabbits because you believe that God Himself, through the mediation of Moses, ordered all generations of Jews never to eat rabbits has a religious value and is a religious discipline; to abstain from eating them as a mere national custom has no religious value whatever.

At the very best the religious effect of Jewish Nationalism upon Judaism can only be to make Judaism more national—more "tribal," as, in old days, Mr. Goldwin Smith would have said,—and less universal. Instead of Liberal Judaism becoming gradually a bigger, larger thing, with wider outlook and affiliations, more suited for the Gentile as well as for the Jew, it will tend (if Jewish Nationalism affects it) to become narrower and smaller. It will shrink into, and live in a corner, instead of boldly stepping forth into, and living in the world.

I am well aware that to most non-Jews the very idea of *any* sort of Judaism being other than a national religion, an anachronistic survival, seems rather absurd, but I am not writing for them. I am writing for my Liberal Jewish brethren, and I may assume that they have no less faith in Liberal Judaism than I. That being so, they will agree with me that Liberal Judaism has special and wonderful features, which partly justify, though they do not generate, our faith. It has its roots in the past; it is still an historical religion, and yet it is so free, so uninjurable by criti-

cism or science, so capable of gradual universalization in its form, so universal already in its doctrine. But to keep these features unharmed, unspoilt; to move forward, and not to fall back, it must keep its ideals pure. And, as it seems to me, its ideals rest upon the basis that the Jews, once a nation, are now something grander and larger than a nation, that they are now a religious community or brotherhood, not limited by nationality or even by race.

Any infusion of nationalism into Liberal Judaism is for me, and I hope for the great majority of Liberal Jews and of Liberal Jewish rabbis in America, a set back, a retrogression. Our ideal is less nationalism and less, not more and more. I am unable to make the current distinction between universalist doctrines and a national cult. The cult should fit the doctrines: otherwise there is an inconsistency. For universalist doctrines I want a universalized cult. "Israel" is for me not a political, not a national term, but a religious term; the God of Israel means for me the God of those who accept the Faith of Israel, be their race, be their nation, what it may. It may be that the universalization of the cult can only take place very gradually and cautiously. Be it so. But, at all events, such universalization is our ideal: towards the ideal our faces are set, not towards the nationalism we have left behind. If the Jews are a nation, then the nationhood clings to the religion like the shirt of Nessus, and stifles and compresses and degrades it. It drives it backwards; it makes it anachronistic. The religion is no longer on a level with the universalist religions of the world. It becomes once more one of the national religions, whose scope is limited, whose power is limited, whose very existence is limited, for how long will cultivated and educated persons care to belong to a merely national religion? Would any cultivated Dane care to belong to a religion which by its very nature had to be confined to the Danes?

Local differences there may, indeed, be, but these do not, I think, impair the validity of my argument. Danish Lutheranism may differ in some outward details from German Lutheranism, but the agreements are greater than the differences, and, moreover, both these varieties of Lutheranism are forms of Christianity. The universality of the religion is maintained. Liberal

Judaism in England may differ in some minor respects from Liberal Judaism in America, but yet it is one and the same religion. And the Englishman is no less an Englishman because he is a Liberal Jew, and the American is no less an American. Our nation is other than our religion. The one has nothing to do with the other. Our nationalities divide us: our religion unites us. Our nationalities are particularist and sundering; our religions are universalist and conjoining.

These are the simple, but, as it seems to me, the very important reflections which, had I been able to come to Cedar Point, I should have ventured to lay before you, and upon which I should have asked your opinions and your criticisms. Perhaps I ought to add one word about Palestine. Many people are astonished at what they call my unsympathetic attitude towards the upbuilding of the Jewish "National" Home. (Alas, for the ill-chosen and unfortunate name, which involves the very troubles and difficulties about which I have just spoken). I will try and set forth what is in my mind in very few words. It is not that I am not glad that a haven of refuge has been found for many thousands of persecuted Jews, victims of anti-Semitism and intolerance. It is not that I am not glad if these thousands of Jews help to build up a new Palestinian nation (not a Jewish nation be it observed, in spite of the unfortunate wording), in which the adherents of all creeds shall be on a footing of perfect equality, in the government of which men of all creeds may share. I watch this experiment with interest, and I hope that it may succeed. Religiously, I have small interest in, or hope for, Palestine. I doubt whether Liberal Judaism can gain a foothold there or will flourish. Religiously, the contest for some while seems more likely to be between Orthodox Judaism, on the one hand, and Atheism, on the other, and whether out of that contest Liberal Judaism will become a religious force of any importance seems very doubtful. Religiously, I have much more hope of New York, Berlin or London than of Jerusalem. The springs and fountains of Liberal Judaism will for long remain in Europe and America, not in Asia. Whether Asia will ever become such a spring seems dubious. But as a safe haven for persecuted Jews we must all be glad that Palestine exists, even

though the numbers which the country can absorb must be comparatively small. Even in spite of the immense costliness of the experiment, in spite of the millions of dollars which have been, and are being, and must (if the experiment is to succeed) continue to be, poured into the country—hugh sums which could have done such immense good for larger numbers of Jews elsewhere—even so, I am glad of the haven and wish it well. What frightens me about the matter is its repercussion,—its effects in Europe and even in America. I am afraid that Zionism helps to strengthen Jewish nationalism, that they feed and stimulate one another. I am afraid that Zionism and the "National" Home tend to make the Gentile world believe that the Jews are a nation, that they are not, cannot be, ought not to be, and do not desire or deserve to be, full and complete citizens of the countries in which they dwell. As to the effect of this belief upon the Jews it is not my business here to speak; yet it is obvious. But what is less obvious is that this belief, even when held by non-Jews, is injurious to Liberal Judaism. For Liberal Judaism grows and expands in an atmosphere of liberty, equality and fraternity; it is chilled and harmed by suspicion and intolerance. Liberal Judaism is universalist, and for its fullest growth and strength it requires that the conception of the Jews as a religious brotherhood, not less and not more, should be cherished from within, admitted and recognized from without.

If, then, my pleas and arguments be sound, I would beg you, leaders and teachers of Liberal Judaism in America, to beware of the "leaven" of nationalism, to keep staunch hold of the noble ideals of your own great masters and founders, to nail the banner of Liberal Judaism, universalist and pure, very firmly to the mast.

Coldeast. July 20, 1924.

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REPORT OF WORK AT HILLEL FOUNDATION AT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Benj. Frankel

I have prepared no report, but if it is your pleasure I shall be glad to give you a brief description of the work done at the Hillel Foundation at the University of Illinois during the past year.

The Foundation aims to correct two outstanding deficiencies in the Jewish university youth. The university student ofttimes attempts to evade and slink from Jewish life and Jewish institutions. Our first problem is to integrate the Jewish student socially; to bring him in contact and intimate touch with a Jewish organization on the campus. The social life offers an incentive. As with all the activities of the Foundation, the work is placed in the hands of a student committee which arranges the various social functions held under the auspices of the Foundation. The social activities offered are to a great extent cultural. Musicales and dramatics hold equal importance with the socials and dances. At the Foundation headquarters are club rooms and reading rooms where Jewish periodicals and papers are at the disposal of the students. These activities tend to stimulate a Jewish consciousness in the university student.

No sooner than the student arrives at the University, the Foundation attempts to reach him. He is brought into contact with other Jewish students through the socials, the committee work, the club rooms, the classes, and religious services. He openly makes the declaration that he is a Jew. A Jewish institution for which he need not apologize represents him on the campus. In short he becomes an integral part of the Jewish group. Having cast his lot with that group there is no reason for evasion. He is definitely known as a Jew on the campus and must make his contribution so that that name might be an honorable one.

The lack of Jewish education in the university youth is ap-

palling. He remembers hazily with more or less accuracy some of the narrative portions of the Bible. And even this little knowledge ofttimes proves a boomerang for with it he builds up a logic against Judaism. His science tells him that the world was not created in six days and yet he recalls the biblical narrative of creation. His logic proceeds as follows: The Bible is untrue, there is no God, hence I must oppose religion. At no period in the life of the Jew is there greater necessity for Jewish education. Even where one finds a general Jewish knowledge present there is need for revaluations and reinterpretations. To this second task, that of educating and re-educating the Jewish youth religiously the Hillel Foundation at the University of Illinois is dedicated.

Toward this end classes were offered during the past year in the Foundation. There were three courses offered—a course in the history and development of the Bible, a course in Men and Movements in Jewish History conducted by Dr. A. Sachar, an instructor in history at the University of Illinois, and a teacher's training course. The first two courses were rather well attended with an average attendance of about forty. In the teachers' training course there were enrolled approximately ten students. These young people in addition to a course offered in the Foundation took work in the University in Bible and Education. Some of them also taught in the local religious school. The plan is to certify these people as religious school teachers after they have completed two years of work in the training course.

The plans for next year offer considerable improvement. The Foundation has engaged an instructor who will offer courses in the Foundation for which University credit will be granted. By arrangement with the University a student may take as much as ten hours toward graduation in religious work. Thus our Jewish students will be doing standard University work in Jewish fields. Three courses will be offered next year. First, a course in Jewish History, three hours a week; secondly, a course in the Social Ideals of Judaism, two hours a week; and thirdly, a course in Jewish Ethics, two hours a week. Doctor Moses Jung, a Ph. D. of Dropsie College, will have charge of these courses. There will of course still be held various discussion groups and classes for which no credit will be given.

The educational program of the Foundation does not end with the classes. There is a monthly Open Forum to which are invited Jewish speakers of repute. There are weekly religious services held (also an Orthodox service is held on Friday evenings at the Foundation conducted by the students) which attract quite a fair number of the Jewish students. And yet one wonders if the activities carried on by the various student committees have not even greater educational value. The committee work awakens the student to Jewish problems and their responsibility to those problems. The social welfare committee seeks to bring about a better relationship between the various Jewish groups on the campus. In their attempt to solve this problem they become acquainted with the social conditions which exist amongst the Jews in the larger Jewish communities. Another striking example of the educational value of committee work is to be found in the work done by the religious education committee during the past year. The task of that committee was to stimulate Temple and class attendance. To the end of discovering what the student thought of religion and what type of service he demanded, the committee made a religious survey of the Jewish student body. The questionnaire presupposed a certain amount of knowledge on the part of the committee and when that knowledge was lacking it was the duty of the committee to inform itself. In several instances reports and papers were read explaining various points of information. Here in this committee the project method was working smoothly and at its best. I dare say the members of that committee receive more than they would have in a class covering the same type of Jewish problems.

In addition to all these influences and other detailed activity which time will not permit to mention, there is the personal contact between the Director of the Foundation and the students. Here the rabbi in charge has a glorious opportunity to influence the Jewish student. Many times a student unwilling to attend religious services or classes will be glad to discuss religion with one privately. The value of such contact can not be overestimated even though it can not be tabulated.

The Foundation hopes to train the university young man and

woman for lay leadership. It seeks to give the knowledge and training necessary for an active communal life. Record is kept of the talents and capabilities of students. Upon graduation from the University a letter will follow the student to the rabbi urging him to enlist the student in communal activities. The gap then between school life and communal life might readily be bridged.

We have only begun our work and thus far it has been partially a successful experiment. The B'nai B'rith has recently undertaken the responsibility for expanding the work. During the past year the finances were raised from the Champaign community, from private subscription, and from a subvention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. For the next year the B'nai B'rith has voted a budget of twenty-five thousand dollars to carry on the work at Illinois and to establish another Hillel Foundation at the University of Wisconsin.

There may be perhaps some questions in your minds which I shall be glad to answer.

How many Jewish students at the University? We have 325 students at the University of Illinois.

Has the Foundation any quarters? We have the second floor of a building—rather well equiped class-rooms, offices and recreation rooms.

What was the attendance at classes? We had an average of 40 in attendance in the course of Jewish History; 40 in attendance in the History of Development of the Bible course and about 10 in the Teachers' group.

How do you reach the students? At the beginning of the year we tried to secure the exact number of Jewish students on the campus. There were, I believe, 175 registered as Jews. The others had no preference. They were non-sectarians, or Christian Scientists. We try to get in touch with every Jewish student on the campus. There was a young gentleman on the campus who claimed he wasn't Jewish—a member of a non-Jewish fraternity. It so happened that I met his mother in Chicago, and she told me how anxious she was for that lad to receive some Jewish instruction. Well, every week, or every other week, into that non-Jewish fraternity there came a notice of the work of the Hillel Founda-

tion and what the Foundation was doing. He is now a member of a committee—doing work.

How does the Menorah differ? Now the Menorah does a specific work. They are interested in Jewish cultural problems and not in Jewish religious work. And may I say that the Menorah has not the extensive program that we at the University of Illinois have. Last year, at the first meeting of the Illinois Menorah, the members themselves decided to disband, which they did. And the Menorah Club was formed under the Foundation. That group is a supper group which meets every two weeks around the supper table at the Foundation. Any student may make reservation for that supper, but only those who prepare papers on some Jewish cultural subject are eligible for membership in that group. We had a paper read on Jewish drama—where a lad treated the history of the Jewish drama. He also produced a little one-act play, called "The Dollar"—as an illustration of his paper. There were about 15 papers read in that group this year.

Why not make up a student congregation? Do you not feel that these other two movements are too limited in scope? This movement rests on the assumption that there will be a resident leader in the university community. You may do what you will nationally for the Jewish student, but you will not reach him unless you have a man on the campus whose business it is to stimulate him along Jewish lines.

Do not the social discriminations still exist in the Hillel Foundation?

Rabbi Frankel: The Hillel Foundation attempts to undermine such social discriminations. It brings together all the students on the campus for a common purpose and with a common end. May I say to Dr. Newman that already plans have been made for the co-operative effort of the Menorah and the Hillel Foundation. After all, the Hillel Foundation is still an experiment, and no one knows what the outcome will be. We have been in existence only a year, and we have had some success, but it may be a sky-rocket affair.

Tell us something about the Religious Service Work you are doing. I mean work in the Temple.

Rabbi Frankel: We have a Temple situated about a mile from the campus. We hold services weekly—every Sunday afternoon. Our attendance from November to April was 205. Once a month we have an open forum discussion. An out-of-town speaker then addresses the student body. We also have an Orthodox service Friday evening in the Foundation rooms. Of the 205, about an average of 20 or 25 are towns-people. Among the outside speakers were Dr. Henry Sluter, Judge Fisher of Chicago, Dr. Singer of Chicago, Sigmund Livingstone of Bloomington, also Philip Seaman of Chicago.

Where does the financial support come from?

Rabbi Frankel: Last year the money was raised by a group of men in Chicago—Mr. Becker, Judge Fisher, Mr. Rosenwald, etc., and Champaign community contributes about $3,000 towards our budget. The Union subsidizes it to the extent of $1,000—$25,000 by the B'nai B'rith is just for this year.

The Hillel Foundation fits into a nook. The work in the Hillel Foundation is considered very much as a student activity. If the various groups want to send their men out, the Hillel Foundation is part of the campus. It has a semi-official position on the campus, recognized by both students and professors. There are two or three Jewish professors in the university actively interested in it.

You come in contact with so many different types. Your contact with the students helps so much.

There was a little lad I met at the beginning of the year, who was a cynic—who didn't believe in religion or in God, or in any of the ologies; and when he became aware of the Jewish literature, he wrote a play and spoke of the new Judaism that was entering the world. That same boy, sometime afterwards, was sitting in my office, and there happened to come in an engineer who said he didn't believe in God; he was an atheist and insisted upon his

views. This same lad asked him, "What do you mean by God?" The man gave his description of God and the lad disgusted said: "There are no atheists. There are only engineers."

Are you working towards a Jewish Center? It seems to me there is a tendency to establish a Jewish Center. You have to divide the problems of the universities over the country, and while they may be solved at one point very well, there are other universities.

Rabbi Frankel: I can not tell about conditions anywhere else but at the University of Illinois. There we intend ultimately to have a Jewish center, but the important thing is—it will not be a Y. M. H. A., it will not be purely a social center—it will be a religious center. That is the idea back of the whole movement.

What do you think of the order of Episcopalian Priests who devote themselves entirely to chaplain work in universities, who stay 20 or 30 days at a time at each university? I happened to call on a person in the New York City Hospital, and I was very much impressed with the whole program. They devote themselves entirely to chaplainship. They stay a period at a time, and they advise the students and they have very attractive personalities.

Rabbi Frankel: I do not know anything about that, but I am afraid the monthly shifts will not work out.

You said there are about 90 students doing class work. Outside of these 90 and the 60 on committee work, are you successful in soliciting others for personal conferences?

Rabbi Frankel: We can get them at the Temple, at our dances, etc. They do not seek us out for personal conferences.

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PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS AFFILIATED WITH THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGATIONS

EMANUEL GAMORAN,
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I. INTRODUCTION

In the field of general education some scientific information is available on almost all the important subjects in which the student of education is interested. Many surveys, statistical abstracts, curricula and discussions of methods employed have been published by a number of agencies. In the field of Jewish education very few have any information which is based on facts studied, or surveys made, in short, on a systematic gathering of materials sufficient to serve as scientific evidence. The only steps in this direction so far have been the surveys of the Jewish educational situations in several of the largest cities made in recent years. Conditions outside of our larger cities are hardly known.

This paper will attempt to present a survey of about one hundred and twenty-five Jewish religious schools affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The study is based on the answers given to an elaborate questionnaire prepared this year and sent to about four hundred (400) schools supplemented by the writer's first hand observation of a number of schools in various part of the country.

II. PHYSICAL FACILITIES

A study of the physical facilities of one hundred and eighteen (118) schools for which information is available showed the following distribution:

Schools located in separate buildings	35
Schools located in basements	21
Schools located in other places	62
Total	118

Amongst the places listed in which school is held, twenty-three (23) schools use the words "vestry rooms" to describe their facilities.

This brief summary shows that thirty per cent (30%) of our schools are located in separate buildings. The remainder have to make use of some other facilities. As far as we know, at least eighteen per cent (18%) conduct schools in basements and twenty per cent (20%) in vestry rooms which are undoubtedly located in basements in some cases.

The total number of class rooms in 110 schools was 857. The average number of class rooms per school was therefore 7.7. The total seating capacity which was recorded for 99 schools was 20,614. The average number of pupils that can be accommodated per school is therefore 208.2.

A question with regard to special facilities for play and recreation revealed the following facts: 48 out of 120 schools have no such facilities; 18 of these 120 gave no answer which, of course, may mean that they have facilities, but which probably indicates that they do not have them. It is interesting to note therefore, that even from the point of view of physical facilities there is much room for improvement.

III. School Population

A. The Register

Another measure of the efficiency of a school system is the extent to which it succeeds in attracting its children so that they attend regularly and thus make learning possible. The first question to consider is the register of our schools. In 121 schools for which information is available, the total register was 21,044. The average school therefore has a register of 172.5. Since the aver-

age seating capacity is 208.2 and the average register only 172.5, it would seem that the average school has room for 36 more children than it has on its register. This is not actually the case. For when children are graded in classes only certain children can be accommodated in certain class rooms and the higher the classes the smaller usually is the number of children. First hand observation seems to show a lack of facilities rather than an abundance of them. In accordance with this calculation the total number of schools affiliated with the Union would have 47,264 children and probably less. It is very evident considering that there are approximately 700,000 Jewish children between the ages of six and fourteen in this country, and probably another 300,000 or 400,000 between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, what a small fraction of them come under our control and in what small measure in proportion to its magnitude, we are solving the problem of Jewish education.

The distribution of these children is also interesting. In 98 schools for which information is available, there were

7,813 boys or 46.4%
9,004 girls or 53.6%

The proportion of girls to boys is therefore about 54 to 46. A study of the distribution of boys and girls in the High School department shows the following results in 53 cases. There were 774 boys—998 girls. The percentage of boys is therefore 43.7 and of girls 56.3. This shows that the proportion of boys to girls is maintained steadily, being practically the same in the High School as it had been in the elementary department.

It is difficult to give the exact reasons for this distribution. One of the reasons no doubt is that the number of girls in general is somewhat greater than the number of boys. Another reason, and especially is this the case in the larger cities, may lie in the fact that parents usually prefer to give their boys an intensive Jewish education while they are satisfied to send their girls to the Sunday School where they receive a much lesser quantity of Jewish instruction. The conjecture has also been made that the constant moralizing and the tendency to the goody-goody instruction in our schools results in bringing to the school a greater proportion of girls than boys.

B. Attendance

The above facts show the general distribution of the Jewish child population in our schools. The next question that naturally interests the student is how regularly do these children attend. A study of 113 schools showed that the average attendance per school was 145.6 or 84.4%. This item is very encouraging if we bear in mind that the public schools in New York City, where attendance is of course compulsory, achieve only a record of 91%, only 6.6% more.

C. Approximate Elimination

Another important measure of the effectiveness of school work is the extent to which children who enter school remain to continue their studies. This may be measured by the number of children who leave school during the year, due allowance being made for those who enter during the year. In the year 1922-1923 46 schools having a register of 10.799 showed an elimination of 992 children or 9.1%. If this should be true of other schools for which information is not available, it would show that the Jewish Sunday Schools maintain their school population much longer than the Jewish week day schools, for the average elimination in the course of one year in the Jewish week day schools is probably much greater than 10%. On the other hand it is quite possible that those schools which did not return the information with regard to the elimination of children are the poorer schools which keep no records and which probably have a higher percentage of elimination. Closely related to the study on approximate elimination is this fact which was obtained from a study of the number of children that entered the Post Confirmation classes. In 70 schools for which the figures were available there were 1,156 children confirmed. Of these 889 entered the Post Confirmation class. The percentage of children who continued their studies after Confirmation is therefore 76.9—an encouraging number.

Another way of measuring elimination is by studying the number of children in subsequent grades for every 100 children

to be found in grade one. Such a study reveals the following facts:

Grade 1.....	100	
Grade 2.....	97	(97.2)
Grade 3.....	108	(108.2)
Grade 4.....	99	(99.5)
Grade 5.....	94	
Grade 6.....	92	(91.7)
Grade 7.....	76	(75.6)
Grade 8.....	70	(70.1)
Grade 9.....	57	(56.8)
Grade 10.....	38	(38.5)
Grade 11.....	23	(23.3)
Grade 12.....	27	

There are three important facts to be noted in this table. First is the gradual decrease in the number of children per class after the third grade, the other is the sudden drop after the eighth grade which probably means the drop after Confirmation and the third is that only 27 children are to be found in the twelfth grade. In other words, as far as present facts are available, only 27 children remain in the twelfth grade out of 100 that start in the first grade and only 57 children go into the ninth grade which is the Post Confirmation grade out of 100 children that start in grade one. These figures are not as bad as they look because if we bear in mind that fully 40% of the children that enter public schools leave before graduation, the percentage of 43 eliminated before grade nine does not appear to be a big percentage of elimination.

IV. ORGANIZATION

A. Number of Sessions

Out of 121 schools for which information is available, 103 have only one session. (9 on Saturday).

Sixteen have two sessions (10 conduct one of the two sessions on Saturday).

Two have three sessions.

In other words, 18 out of 121 schools have more than one session per week or 15% (14.8) while 85% have only one session a week. It is interesting in this connection to note that when asked what steps are being taken to increase religious instruction, 58 out of 73 that answered, said that they were not taking any steps. In other words, 80% of the rabbis for whom information is available, in accordance with their own statements, are not taking any steps towards increasing religious instruction. Only 8 out of 73 or 10% (10.1) said that they were attempting week day instruction.

On the other hand, it may be noted that 91 out of 107 or 85% have additional sessions for Confirmation and that each Confirmation Class receives on the average 1.8 or almost 2 hours of actual instruction.

It is important in this connection to know how many of the schools have a High School Department so that the meager time which is given to instruction is continued at least after Confirmation. The answer to this question showed that 82 out of 108 for which information is available or 76% (75.9) had High School Departments. 26 out of 108 or 24% had no High School Department. This does not, however, mean that 76% have a full High School Department. On the contrary, out of 95 cases, for which information is available, only 22 said that they had a High School graduation. This means that only 23% have a High School graduation. The High School is not yet a full course or a regularly established department. That this is so, is substantiated by the fact that in answer to a question on the length of the High School course, it was found that the average length of the course at present is only 2.5 years.

B. Length of Hours

Bearing in mind the limited number of sessions for Jewish instruction, in our religious schools, it would be interesting to find out how much time is given per session. A study of 117 cases showed that the average time of instruction is 1.9. This includes, however, an assembly period lasting on the average 27 minutes. The time for actual classroom instruction is therefore

only one hour and twenty-seven minutes. We may say, therefore, that the average school gives approximately 1½ hours of instruction per week. Since the school year is only about 30 to 35 sessions, it would mean that the total instruction per year is 52½ hours. A child that stays 8 years in our school receives only 420 hours of classroom instruction, and if it is true, as it seems to be, that only 70 out of 100 children remain to complete the 8th grade, we must remember that 30% of our children receive even less than that.

V. The Curriculum

A. The Teaching of Hebrew

The most important measures of school work are not however the external factors, such as the physical facilities and the facilities for recreation. The important determinants of school work are the curriculum, the teachers and the method of teaching. What then does this survey show with regard to the curriculum. First, as to the question of Hebrew, there is a widespread notion that the Jewish religious school does not teach Hebrew. This idea is not altogether true. Out of 120 cases for which information is available, 81 teach Hebrew and 39 do not. The percentage of those teaching is therefore 67.5, while that of those not teaching, is only 32.5. It is also interesting to note in this connection, that out of 42 that answered the question as to when Hebrew was first introduced into the schools, 28 introduced it in 1917 or after, and ten of these 28 introduced it in 1923-4. Assuming that the teaching of Hebrew is a step in the direction of an intensive Jewish education, one would come to the conclusion that there is a tendency in our congregations to provide a more intensive Jewish education for our children than that which they have received in the past.

It is important though, not to exaggerate the amount of Hebrew that is being taught. In the first place, only 42 out of 80 cases for which information is available, require Hebrew; the remaining 38 teach Hebrew as an optional subject. This means that only 52.5% of those who teach Hebrew require it while 47.5% are satisfied with making Hebrew an optional subject. If

we count the 42 that require Hebrew in relation to the total of 120 cases that answered the question concerning Hebrew, the percentage is still further reduced to 35. Where Hebrew is a required subject, it is taught approximately for six years (5.9) and on the average it is taught only .8 of an hour per week; add to these facts the fact that the children do not begin to study Hebrew until they are on the average 8.2 years and that many of them leave school without being confirmed, you will readily see that our instruction in Hebrew leaves much to be desired.

The hours of instruction just mentioned apply only to those schools where Hebrew is required. In the schools where Hebrew is optional, the time given is somewhat greater. Instead of .8 of an hour per week, the time of instruction in the optional schools is 1.3 hours, thus making the time given to Hebrew per week only about 1.15 (1.18 minutes). An examination of the total number of pupils actually studying Hebrew in 59 schools with a register of 12,342 shows that the total number of pupils that study Hebrew is 3,426, constituting only 27.7% of the total school population of those schools. This means that more than 70% of the children in our Religious Schools do not study Hebrew. Is this not a sad situation in a school system one of the main objects of which is the transmission of a religious culture embodied in the Hebrew language and literature?

B. Sabbath Services

Another aspect of our school work which is closely related to that of the curriculum, is the question of preparing our children for participation in religious worship. While it is a well-known fact that most of our schools have assemblies (our study shows that 98.9% conduct assemblies) at which services take place, it is also true that little attempt is made to develop a children's service of a kind that will prepare the child to participate in temple services later on. The example which has been established in some schools to conduct a special children's service on Saturday still remains to be followed by many of our schools. In fact, only 58% of our schools hold children's services on Saturday (58.4)

forty-one per cent. do not conduct such services. Of those that do conduct services 64.4% are voluntary and 35.6% compulsory. A comparison between attendance at Sabbath services with the register of those schools conducting them, shows that only 40.5% of the children in the schools attend services. The question naturally suggests itself: Are such arrangements sufficient to enable our children who are expected to be the Temple goers of tomorrow, to participate in Jewish services intelligently?

C. Distribution of Subjects of Study

Another question of importance in connection with the curriculum is that of which subjects are being mostly frequently taught. A study of the answers to this question shows the following results.

In 79 cases Bible constituted a subject study in the kindergarten.

In 80 cases customs and ceremonies constituted a subject of study in the kindergarten.

In 9 cases ethics constituted a subject of study in the kindergarten.

In 10 cases singing constituted a subject of study in the kindergarten. It is curious to see how little a proportion of the program of the kindergarten is given over to singing, a subject which should unquestionably be given prominence in that grade.

The following was the distribution for

Grade 1—	Bible	67	(note Eva Landman's book)
	Customs and ceremonies	48	
	History	38	
	Hebrew	11	
	Religion	10	
	Ethics	10	
Grade 2—	History	74	
	Bible	23	
	Customs and ceremonies	17	

	Religion	14
	Ethics	14
	Hebrew	13
Grade 3—	History	95
	Hebrew	19
	Religion	18
	Ethics	17
Grade 4—	History	95
	Religion	21
	Hebrew	19
	Ethics	18
Grade 5—	History	85
	Religion	24
	Hebrew	21
	Ethics	18
Grade 6—	History	79
	Religion	24
	Hebrew	19
	Ethics	14
Grade 7—	History	68
	Religion	23
	Hebrew	17
Grade 8—	History	52
	Religion	22
	Hebrew	15
	Current Events	13

It is interesting to note that only in the eighth grade does current events form a subject for even so small a number of schools as 13, while the subject that practically leads, to the exclusion of all others throughout the grades above, is history. Knowing as we do, how frequently Jewish history in the Sunday School brings the children into Exile and does not redeem them from Babylonia, it is not necessary to comment on the present state of our curriculum.

As a direct answer to the question as to whether they teach Jewish current events, 85 schools out of a total of 97 said that

they did, 12 said that they did not, which means that 88% (87.6) teach it while 12% (12.4) do not teach it, but the distribution of these cases by years shows that only 29 teach current events in grade 5. 29 in grade 6. 25 in grade 7. 33 in the confirmation grade, and 64 in the high school.

In other words, there is a general tendency to postpone the teaching of current events until children reach the high school. There is no reason for such a postponement, as children of tender ages are quite capable of understanding the events that take place in the life of their Jewish brothers scattered all over the world. In fact, because current events deal usually with living issues and with living people, they offer an opportunity for concrete instruction in contrast to most of the subjects in the Jewish school which are on the whole very abstract. To neglect the teaching of current events in the grades of the elementary school is therefore to miss an opportunity. It is interesting to know that in spite of the fact that there is a children's paper which includes current events as a regular feature in its columns and in which the current events are written especially to meet the needs of children, only 63% (62.8) make use of it, while 37% (37.2) do not use it.

The information sought concerning library facilities resulted in some encouraging facts. Out of a total of 111 cases for which information is available, 84 or 76% (75.7) reported a Jewish library for pupils, while 27 or 24% (24.3) reported that they did not have any for teachers, the proportion was 79 to 25, or 76% (75.9) to 24% (24.1).

D. Provisions for Social Service

A great deal has been said concerning the importance of social service in our schools. It has been claimed in fact, that we ought to subordinate the imparting of Jewish information to making provision for social service activity on the part of the pupils. One would, therefore, expect that our schools should have developed a considerable technique that would lead to an elaborate program of social service activities in the Jewish ele-

mentary and high schools. This does not seem to be the case. Amongst the items listed as Social Service activities, "weekly collections given to Charities" were recorded in 40 cases, visits to the sick, day nurseries and orphan homes combined were mentioned 12 times. The other activities that were included under social service were social meetings, class organizations, service at assemblies, club work, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, orchestra, committees, and literary work. All these combined amounted to 26.

The array of items in itself shows not only that there is no technique developed, but that we have contributed little to the general development of a social service program in our schools adequate to develop that social responsiveness which is so necessary a requirement of the individual who wishes to serve society.

VI. Teacher Ttaining

A. Number and Distribution

The most important element of all in any school system is its corps of teachers. A good teacher may overcome a poor curriculum but a bad teacher will surely spoil even the best curriculum. It is therefore of importance to know what kind of teachers are in charge of our religious schools. First as to their number. In 124 schools, for which information was available, it was found that there were 1,146 teachers or 9 teachers on the average per school. Of these, the distribution in 118 schools was as follows:

Men, 297 or 27%.
Women, 802 or 73%.

The women thus outnumber the men 3 to 1 in our schools. This, of course, is not surprising considering on the one hand the greater proportion of women in the public schools and on the other hand the greater willingness of young women to volunteer their services. There may be other reasons why there are more women than men in our schools. Perhaps one factor as in the case of the pupils, may be the nature of our curriculum. A curriculum that tends to moralize too much and tends to proudce what is pro-

verbially known as the Sunday School atmosphere may not appeal to our young men as much as it does to our young women.

B. Facilities for Training

More important, however, than the number of teachers and their distribution by sex, is the training which they have received. The following facts will be of interest in this connection.

24 out of a total of 117 cases reported that there are Jewish Teachers' Training Schools in their cities. In other words 20% (20.5) have teachers' training schools while 80% (79.5) do not have any. 29 out of 103 reported as having a normal class. This means that only 28% (28.1) of our schools have normal classes in which their teachers may receive some preparation for their classroom work, while 57% (57.2) do not even have a normal class in which to receive their instruction. Teachers conferences are indeed conducted in about 90% of the cases recorded (89.4). But what are teacher's conferences in comparison with regular opportunities for instruction? If we add to this the fact that 72% of our schools are under the care of the rabbi who is busy with many other duties, and only in 28% (27.6) of the cases is there a special principal to relieve the rabbi of the burdens of the school, we realize how little attention is given to the adequate training of teachers.

C. General Education

But it might be contended that these teachers have already received their training before they came to teach. Hence it is unnecessary to train them over again. Should anyone come to that conclusion the following facts ought to be sufficient to prove the contrary. Amongst the questionnaires sent out and returned, were also 492 supplementary questionnaires in which information was sought concerning the Jewish teachers in our schools. 123 questionnaires were selected at random, every fourth questionnaire being taken from the entire collection. A study was then made of these 123 questionnaires with a view to finding out the secular training, the Jewish training and the teaching experience of our

teachers. This study shows very clearly that 116 have had at least a high school education or more. 31 are normal school graduates and 31 college graduates. Computing these figures by percentages, the results are as follows:

Had a high school education or more 94.3%.

Had only high school education 25.2%.

Had a normal school education 23.5%, a college education 23.5%.

D. Jewish Education

The following were the results of our study with regard to the Jewish training:

70 out of the 123 were religious school graduates.

7 were graduates of a normal school for religious teachers.

The most significant fact of all in this table is naturally the first, that fully 70 cases or 57% (56.9) had a Jewish education equivalent to nothing more than graduation from a Sunday School. Is it necessary to comment on how meager and inadequate such training is for those who are to teach the children in our schools?

A study of the teaching experience of our teachers showed that the great majority of our teachers got their teaching experience only by teaching in the religious school, since 61 out of a total of 94 gave work in the religious school as their only teaching experience. The answers with regard to the courses pursued in psychology and pedagogy were not sufficient to warrant any generalization. It is clear, however, from even a cursory glance at these facts that our teachers are on the whole better prepared from the point of view of their secular education and teaching experience than they are from the point of view of their specific Jewish training.

VII. Finances

Another more or less external measure, if not of the efficiency, at least of the interest displayed in our schools is the amount of financial investment that they represent. To the extent that finances represent interest in the work they may perhaps not be as external a factor as one might imagine. Unfortunately the

information on this subject was not given freely by many of those that were questioned. As a result we only have 45 cases. Of the 45 cases studied the following result is the most striking: The congregations' yearly budget of these 45 congregations amounted to $773,366.78. The yearly budget of the schools of these 45 congregations amounted to $66,012.65. This means that only 8.9% of the congregational budget is spent on the schools. If our schools were running very efficiently, had trained teachers, good text-books and splendid curriculum, this fact alone would still be an indication that there is something wrong somewhere. If money should measure interest then less than 10% of our interest is invested in the solution of the problem of Jewish education upon which depends our future in America.

The expenditure of the congregation upon the school is reflected also in the training and paying of the teachers. Out of a total of 1,100 teachers in 124 schools, 347 or 31.5% were volunteer teachers, 753 or 68.5% were paid teachers, but what pay they received!

3 schools paid their teachers $5.00 a month or less.

21 schools paid their teachers between $5.00 and $10.00 a month.

12 schools paid their teachers between $10.00 and $15.00 a month.

9 schools paid their teachers between $15.00 and $20.00 a month.

Only 2 paid $25.00 a month.

Only 1 paid $30.00 a month.

Only 1 paid $35.00 a month.

Average pay per month per teacher is $11.55 in 49 cases, or 2.88 a session.

This means 36 out of 49 paid their teachers $15.00 a month or less.

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that there is a relation between paying teachers and training them. When we pay our teachers we are in a better position to ask them to pursue a course of training in order to prepare themselves to teach.

VIII. Summary and Recommendations

What is the value of all these facts that we have learned? Some people, of course, will refuse to recognize the value of knowledge for its own sake. The writer believes that a knowledge of the Jewish educational situation in this country is important just for the sake of having that knowledge.

At the same time, it may be in place to point out that a statistical study such as this has some very significant corollaries.

Our study of physical facilities showed that very few of our schools have separate buildings in which to accommodate their children and that very few have facilities for play and recreation. In the field of general education, scientific school building has long been in progress. In the field of Jewish education, it would seem that the school is an appendage to what might otherwise be a very fine structure. This must be avoided in the future. Jewish school buildings should be constructed with full knowledge of the building scales that have been devised by those who are specialists in school hygiene.

Our study of attendance and elimination showed that while our attendance is on the whole satisfactory and our general percentage of elimination is not as high as in Jewish week day schools, it is by no means of the kind to lead to complacency. Far from it. There is a distinct drop in the 9th grade to 57 from 100 in the first grade and in the 12th grade, only 27 remain. This fact serves to point out the importance of developing our curricula and our method so well that the children may have the full benefit of the instruction they come for in the early grades of the elementary school. For, who can tell which of them will remain in the later grades.

The most significant fact in our study is that concerning the limited time of instruction. We all realize that we are giving little time to the Jewish education of our children. But, very few of us had a picture of the actual facts. Now, we know that only 15% of our schools have more than one session a week, and that the children receive only an hour and twenty-seven minutes of class room instruction per week. This fact is sufficient to

arrest attention. The answer given by 80% of those from whom information is available stating that no steps are being taken at present to increase the hours for Jewish religious instruction is equally discouraging.

As to the question of curriculum, the results are very surprising indeed. 81 schools out of 120 teach Hebrew. But, only 42 require it. In other words, only 35% of our schools make Hebrew a required subject, (52.5% of those who teach it). Taking the same facts from the point of view of the number of pupils we learn fully 70% do not study it. Bearing in mind how closely the Jewish religion is bound up with the Hebrew language and literature the danger of developing a future generation of "Am-Arazim" stares us in the face. The subject which leads in all cases beginning with grade two, is History. So much prominence is given to try the teaching of Jewish History that in no case does any other subject beginning with grade two, come even as a close second. The closest is religion which in grade 10 is taught in 14 cases as compared to 26 cases of History.

Since the present tendency in many schools is to moralize, history tends to lose its distinctive character as history. Furthermore, the tendency to draw not a single moral from the wonderful story of the Jewish people, but to draw separate and discrete morals from as many of the events of Jewish history as possible, results in further difficulties. In the first place the pupil becomes callous to the constant repetition of moral maxims. In the second place, the derivation of a moral for each separate story fails to provide for a habit which it is very necessary to develop, the forming of synthetic judgments. The child may grasp an ethical idea in a single lesson but when different ethical ideas are given to the different lessons without as a rule any attempt to connect them into a unified whole, he must often fail to see the relation between them. Thus a child may grasp the idea of hospitality in the story of "Abraham and the Three Angels," but may fail to see what relation this particular story has to the development of the character of Abraham as it is described in Genesis, to grasp the unity that there is to the Bible, in its attempt to reflect the ideals of a people highly conscious of the abiding need for spiritual forces to guide life.

Summary and Recommendations Continued

Our studies with regard to Teacher Training revealed the striking facts that 80% of our schools are located in cities in which there is no Jewish Teachers' Training School; that only 28% of the schools have a normal school in which to train their teachers. This situation, unfortunate as it already is, is further aggragavated by the fact that 57% of our present teaching staff have had as preparation in the Jewish content subjects no more than a knowledge equivalent to that of the average Sunday School graduate. Here, if anywhere, is an opportunity for the rabbi to organize a Teacher Training course which would serve on the one hand to improve the teaching of those already in service and on the other hand to prepare teachers for the future.

One of the curious facts revealed by this study is that less than 10% of the congregational budgets of those schools for which information was available was spent for school purposes. This, however does not take into consideration part of the rabbi's salary which in a proper distribution of expense should be partly charged to the school. The writer is not in a position to estimate to what extent this factor would tend to improve the situation but a comparison with the salary which teachers receive and in which the Mode* is between $5.00 and $10.00 a month, leads him to believe that the results would not be very different even if due consideration were given to the factor of the rabbi's salary as an item in the school budget.

Furthermore the budget is at times mentioned as a difficulty when the introduction of additional sessions is urged. It must be apparent that if Judaism in America is to continue, this situation must be remedied. We cannot maintain Jewish life without an adequate Jewish education. To provide the necessary facilities for such an education and to take concrete and definite steps to use them effectively is the most important responsibility of the rabbi and the Jewish educators. We must translate our ideas into actions, theoretical statements into definite practices. To say

* The Mode is that case in a frequency distribution which occurs most often.

year in and year out that we will increase week-day instruction and to do nothing about it is a dangerous degree of negligence which will surely lead to the disintegration of Jewish life in America. The responsibility is, to be sure, not alone that of the rabbi. The Layman, the Jewish educator, and national Jewish organizations, must all co-operate in the matter. We must shoulder this responsibility with a full consciousness that just as character is moulded by deeds, so problems are solved not by pious wishes but by action.

Dr. Gamoran: I will first answer some of the specific questions that have been asked, and then some of the general discussion with regard to the survey.

I did not make a study of the relationship between the age of confirmation and high school, therefore I cannot answer your question scientifically. If you want my opinion I believe there is a great deal of psychological value in making a child feel that he has completed a course of study, and furthermore that he is entering a new course of study that will lead, perhaps, to a teacher training course.

Secondly, as to the question of plays. As I omitted a number of other things, I also omitted the study of extra curricular activities. There is no doubt, in answer to Rabbi Lieser's question, that plays have a great deal of value as all other extra curricular activities in the school have a great deal of value. In fact the general tendency is to shift from studies to activities. They offer a very fine opportunity for making the transition, but in time to come the schools will consist more and more of activities in which the important Jewish values that we want to transmit to our children will be embodied. So the specific value of plays is not merely in that they serve as a means of preparing children for festivals or offer entertainment for the schools and have educative value for the children who participate, but also serve as a means of departure, through which we may hope some day that the schools will be a place of greater activities instead of a place of great passivity.

With regard to the question of the value of Hebrew, I know

that it is a difficult subject to handle with many of the trustees, but I am afraid to say that some of our own rabbis are "Miktane Amanah," they have little faith, and that is why they have so much difficulty in handling the trustees. I don't know that in my experience, and I have had some experience with trustees, I have found any difficulty in convincing some people who did not know much about Hebrew of the value of teaching Hebrew to their children. I am afraid we become confused. The confusion exists in our own minds as to our curriculum, and that brings me to the general discussion started by Rabbi Frisch.

The curriculum has been thoroughly discussed by the Commission as Dr. Philipson pointed out, and all the criticisms suggested by members of the Central Conference were thoroughly considered before the curriculum was revised.

There is a criticism which Rabbi Frisch made that the period from 586 to 70, is a very important period and we do not give it more than one year. Then on the other hand he went on to say we should not have two sessions a week because we are poverty stricken for curricular material, that we would not know what to give to our children; to say nothing of the fact that the two statements seem to be inconsistent, if we have so much to give that we must separate the period from 586 to 70 into smaller periods, then we certainly can include some of that material in the two sessions a week. The very reason why the Commission felt that it ought to place that in one year is due to the fact that the curriculum was so crowded that counting two sessions a week they still felt that they did not have more time than one year to give to that period.

May I add also this: that there are some longer periods, 70 to Mendelssohn for instance, that we are attempting to cover in one year. That is not too much to cover in one year. It is not because our curriculum and our text-books must be based on a process of selection. We do not intend to teach everything from the year 70 to Mendelssohn. There are a great many Hebrew philosophers in the Middle Ages, and Hebrew poets, about whom the children cannot learn or understand, in the elementary school. That is one of the reasons we have made provision for what we would call a re-education in the high school.

I am very much surprised indeed to hear some one say that the high school curriculum showed a lack of orderliness. It was the one part of the curriculum which received less criticism from the members of the Commission, and from the members of the Central Conference than any other. On the contrary it was felt that the high school curriculum was unified and attempted consistently, starting out with the Bible history as the main subject, and following the basis of the Hebrew instruction which the children will have received in the elementary school, to continue the process and to give a re-education in Bible and in history, in such manner as is possible to teach Bible and history in the high school, but was not possible in the elementary school. It attempts also to continue the instruction in Hebrew going on from the Biblical material in the elementary school to selections from the Midrash, the Aggadah and even mediaeval and modern Hebrew literature.

Now I confess that I was very much impressed by the references to the authorities on pedagogy mentioned by Rabbi Levy, and I need not tell you that I have the highest regard for the character of Dr. Felix Adler, but I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with his statement concerning the importance of telling stories to certain children of certain ages, due to the fact that those stories were characteristic of the race in its infancy, and that the children are at a stage when they are supposed to repeat the history of the race.

The theory that ontogeny repeats phylogeny, that the life of the individual repeats the life of the race—of Stanley Hall, has been discredited by Thorndike, by means of scientific evidence. Therefore that psychology, however well-founded it may have been, until the days of Thorndike, is no longer well founded today. I also confess that I cannot share Rabbi Levy's fear that due to the additional instruction in Hebrew that we have provided for our children, that they are going to become "gedolim." I think they are very far from becoming "gedolim." If we have the additional session in Hebrew there is still relatively little we can do in two sessions a week. The important thing to do is not to bewail the fact that some of our congregations are trying to introduce two sessions a week, but rather to demand and with

perfect right, demand of the public schools that due time be given in which the Jewish people can give their children a supplementary religious education. We do not want to connect Church and State, but we do feel that the public school has no right to take the entire time of our children. We are entitled to give our children a religious education and we cannot be satisfied with a religious education of 420 hours in 8 years, or even less.

It is the task of the rabbi to influence the public school system. He must see to it that more time is given to religious instruction. The health of children is something which not only our group remembers. The Orthodox Jews, the National Radical Jews also take into consideration the health of their children, and yet they are providing a system of supplementary Jewish education which is much more intensive than that which we have provided so far.

I do hope that the results which this study show will stimulate our rabbis to greater activities. I think it is a great tragedy that 80 per cent of our rabbis have admitted that they are not taking any steps to increase religious instruction. I think that is where the root of the trouble lies. We talk about it but we do not act. I hope that you will be stimulated to do so.

Isaac Mayer Wise

Founder of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis

and

First President

1889–1900

DECEASED MEMBERS

Aaron, Israel, Buffalo, N. Y.....1912
Adler, Samuel, New York City.....1891
Adler, Liebman, Chicago, Ill.....1892
Bauer, Solomon H., Chicago, Ill.....1913
Benjamin, Raphael, Brooklyn, N. Y.....1907
Berkowitz, Henry, Philadelphia, Pa.....1923
Bernstein, Louis, Baltimore, Md.....1922
Bien, Henry M., Vicksburg, Miss.....1895
Birkenthal, Herman, Hamilton, Ont.....1893
Blaustein, David, New York City.....1912
Blum, Abraham, New York City.....1921
Bloch, Jacob, Portland Ore.....1916
Bogen, Joseph, Jackson, Tenn.....1919
Bonnheim, Benjamin A., Cincinnati, O.....1909
Cantor, Bernard, New York City.....1920
Caro, Victor, Milwaukee, Wis.....1912
Chumaceiro, H. J. M., Curacao, D. W. I.....1905
Cohen, Oscar J., Mobile, Ala.....1901
Deutsch, Gotthard, Cincinnati, O.....1921
Deinard, Samuel N., Minneapolis, Minn.....1921
Elkin, Meyer, Hartford, Conn.....1915
Feldman, Ephraim, Cincinnati, O. 1910
Felsenthal, Bernard, Chicago, Ill.....1908
Feuerlicht, David, Owensboro, Ky.....1897
Feuerlicht, Jacob, Chicago, Ill.....1920
Fischer, E. K., Chattanooga, Tenn.....1903
Friedlander, Joseph, Plainfield, N. J.....1917
Gottheil, Gustav, New York City.....1903
Gries, Moses J., Cleveland, O.....1918
Grossman, Ignatz, Chicago, Ill.....1897
Guttmacher, Adolf, Baltimore, Md.....1915
Herz, Joseph, Columbus, Miss.....1909
Hess, Emanuel L., St. Paul, Minn.....1907
Hirsch, Emil G., Chicago, Ill.....1923
Isaacs, Abram S., Paterson, N. J.....1920
Jacobson, Jacob S., Chicago, Ill.....1911
Jesselson, Felix W., Grand Rapids, Mich.....1920
Joseph, Israel, Montgomery, Ala.....1897
Kaiser, Alois, Baltimore, Md.....1908

KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH, Philadelphia, Pa.....1923
LANDAU, JACOB H., Las Vegas, N. M.....1919
LAZARUS, ABRAHAM, Houston, Tex.....1900
LEUCHT, ISAAC L., New Orleans, La.....1914
LEUCHT, JOSEPH, Newark, N. J.....1920
LEVY, ABRAHAM R., Chicago, Ill.....1915
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1917
LEVY, M. S., San Francisco, Cal.....1916
LEWINTHAL, ISIDORE, Nashville, Tenn.....1922
LOWENSTEIN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1901
MACHOL, MICHAEL, Cleveland, O.....1912
MANNHEIMER, SIGMUND, Cincinnati, O.....1909
MAYER, ELI, Albany, N. Y.....1920
MAYER, LIPPMAN, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1904
MENDELSOHN, SAMUEL, Wilmington, N. C.....1923
MESSING, AARON J., Chicago, Ill.....1916
MESSING, HENRY J., St. Louis, Mo.....1913
MEYER, MARTIN A., San Francisco, Cal.....1923
MIELZINER, MOSES, Cincinnati, O.....1903
MOSES, ADOLPH, Louisville, Ky.....1902
NEUMARK, DAVID, Cincinnati, O.....1924
NEWMAN, JULIUS, Chicago, Ill.....1920
NOOT, MEYER, Williamsport, Pa.....1916
NORDEN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1905
RADIN, ADOLPH M., New York City.....1909
SADLER, BERNARD, Easton, Pa.....1917
SAMFIELD, MAX, Memphis, Tenn.....1915
SCHWAB, ISAAC, St. Joseph, Mo.....1907
SCHLESINGER, MAX, Albany, N. Y.....1919
SOLOMON, M., Appleton, Wis.....1892
SONNENSCHIEN, SOLOMON, St. Louis, Mo.....1908
SPITZ, MORITZ, St. Louis Mo.....1921
STEMPLE, I., Yonkers, N. Y.....1900
STERN, LOUIS, Washington, D. C.....1919
STRAUSS, LEON, Belleville, Ill.....1895
SZOLD, BENJAMIN, Baltimore, Md.....1902
VOORSANGER, JACOB, San Francisco, Cal.....1908
WECHSLER, JUDAH, Indianapolis, Ind.....1907
WEISS, L., Bradford, Pa.....1909
WINTNER, LEOPOLD, Brooklyn, N. Y.....1923
WISE, AARON, New York City.....1896
WISE, ISAAC M., Cincinnati, O.....1900
WOLFENSTEIN, SAMUEL, Cleveland, O.....1921
YOUNGERMAN, MORRIS H., Charleston, W. Va.....1924
ZIRNDORF, HEINRICH, Cincinnati, O.....1893

PAST PRESIDENTS

ISAAC M. WISE.....1889-1900
JOSEPH SILVERMAN.....1900-1903
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF.....1903-1905
JOSEPH STOLZ.....1905-1907
DAVID PHILIPSON.....1907-1909
MAX HELLER.....1909-1911
SAMUEL SCHULMAN.....1911-1913
MOSES J. GRIES.....1913-1915
WILLIAM ROSENAU.....1915-1917
LOUIS GROSSMAN.....1917-1919
LEO M. FRANKLIN.....1919-1921
EDWARD N. CALISCH.....1921-1923
ABRAM SIMON.....1923-

PREVIOUS CONVENTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

1889.....Detroit, Mich.
1890.....Cleveland, O.
1891.....Baltimore, Md.
1892.....Washington, D. C.
1893.....Chicago, Ill.
1894.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1895.....Rochester, N. Y.
1896.....Milwaukee, Wis.
1897.....Montreal, Canada
1898.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1899.....Cincinnati, O.
1900.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1901.....Philadelphia, Pa.
1902.....New Orleans, La.
1903.....Detroit, Mich.
1904.....Louisville, Ky.
1905.....Cleveland, O.
1906.....Indianapolis, Ind.
1907-1908.....Frankfort, Mich.
1909.....New York, N. Y.
1910.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1911..St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn.
1912.....Baltimore, Md.
1913.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1914.....Detroit, Mich.
1915.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1916.....Wildwood, N. J.
1917.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1918.....Chicago, Ill.
1919.....Cincinnati, O.
1920.....Rochester, N. Y.
1921.....Washington, D. C.
1922-1923.....Cape May, N. J.
1924.....Cedar Point, O.

Atlantic City, N. J., 1894, 1898, 1913
Baltimore, Md.....1891, 1912
Buffalo, N. Y.....1900, 1917
Cape May, N. J.....1922, 1923
Cedar Point, O.....1924
Charlevoix, Mich.....1910, 1915
Chicago, Ill.....1893, 1918
Cincinnati, O.....1899, 1919
Cleveland, O.....1890, 1905
Detroit, Mich.....1889, 1903, 1914
Frankfort, Mich.....1907, 1908
Indianapolis, Ind.....1906
Louisville, Ky.....1904
Milwaukee, Wis.....1896
Montreal, Canada.....1897
New Orleans, La.....1902
New York, N. Y.....1909
Philadelphia, Pa.....1901
Rochester, N. Y.....1895, 1920
St. Paul-Minneapolis.....1911
Washington, D. C.....1892, 1921
Wildwood, N. J.....1916

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Fried, Michael, Rabbi, Sacramento, Cal.

Friedlander, Marcus, Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Sholom, 10 Prospect Park, S. W., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Kohut, George Alexander, Ph. D., Rabbi, 220 W. 87th St., New York City.

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Kornfeld, Joseph S., A. B., Rabbi, Collingwood Ave. Temple, Toledo, Ohio.

Kory, Sol. L., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Chesed, P. O. Box 356, Vicksburg, Miss.

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Lauterbach, Jacob Z., Ph. D., Rabbi, Professor Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

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ALABAMA

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Birmingham	Emanuel	Morris Newfield
Mobile	Shaare Shamayim	Alfred G. Moses
Montgomery	Kahl Montgomery	William B. Schwartz
Selma	Mishkan Israel	Simon Cohen

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith	United Hebrew	Wm. M. Stern
Helena	Beth El	Joseph Leiser
Hot Springs	House of Israel	Abraham B. Rhine

CALIFORNIA

Fresno	Beth Israel	Alexander D. Segel
Long Beach		Louis Grossman Julius A. Leibert
Los Angeles	B'nai B'rith	S. Hecht Edgar F. Magnin Sigmund Frey Emanuel Schreiber
Oakland	Temple Sinai	Rudolph I. Coffee
Sacramento	First Hebrew	Michael Fried
	B'nai Israel	Harold F. Reinhardt
Sierra Madre		Simon Peiser
San Francisco		Louis I. Newman Jacob Nieto Herman Rosenwasser
San Jose	Bickur Cholim	Harvey B. Franklin
Stockton	Israel	Harvey E. Wessel
Venice		David L. Liknaitz

COLORADO

Denver	Emanuel	William S. Friedman
Pueblo	Emanuel	Moise Bergman

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport	Park Avenue	David Levy
Hartford	Beth Israel	Abraham S. Anspacher
New Haven	Mishkan Israel	Sidney S. Tedesche Adolph Guttman
Waterbury	Israel	Bernard M. Kaplan

Delaware

Wilmington	Beth Emeth	Lee J. Levinger

District of Columbia

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Washington	Washington Hebrew	Abram Simon

Florida

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Miami	Temple Israel	Joseph Jasin
Pensacola	Beth El	Israel J. Sarasohn
Tampa	Schaarai Zedek	Louis Grafman

Georgia

Albany	B'nai Israel	Edmund A. Landau
Atlanta	Hebrew Benevolent	David Marx
Columbus	B'nai Israel	Frank L. Rosenthal
Macon	Beth Israel	Isaac E. Marcuson
Savannah	Mikve Israel	George Solomon

Illinois

Champaign	Sinai	Benj. M. Frankel
Chicago		Bernard C. Ehrenreich
	South Shore Temple	George Fox
	Temple Judea	Leon Fram
	Anshe Mayriv	Solomon B. Freehof
	Humboldt Blvd. Temple	Joseph Hevesh
	Temple Sholom	Abram Hirschberg
	B'nai Sholom-Temple Israel	Gerson B. Levi
	Emanuel	Felix A. Levy
	Sinai	Louis L. Mann
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		Julius H. Meyer
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	Washington Blvd.	Samuel Schwartz
	Anshe Mayriv	Tobias Schanfarber
	Mizpah	Jacob Singer
		Bernard J. Stern
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	B'nai Joshua	Joseph Henry Stolz
		Jacob Turner
	Moses Montefiore	M. Ungerleider
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Winnetka	North Shore	Louis A. Mischkind

INDIANA

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Gary	Temple Israel	Pizer W. Jacobs
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Lafayette	Temple Israel	Arthur A. Feldman
South Bend	Temple Beth El	Julius Mark
Terre Haute	Temple Israel	Joseph M. Taxay

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Des Moines	B'nai Jeshurun	Eugene Mannheimer
Sioux City	Mt. Sinai	Isadore Isaacson

KANSAS

Leavenworth	B'nai Jeshurun	Theodore F. Joseph

KENTUCKY

Lexington	Adath Israel	Theodore Lifset
Louisville	Adath Israel	Joseph Rauch
	B'rith Sholom	Jerome Rosen
Paducah	Temple Israel	Harry S. Margolis

LOUISIANA

Alexandria	Gemilluth Hassodim	Myron M. Meyerovitz
Baton Rouge	B'nai Israel	Nathan E. Barasch
Lake Charles		Raphael Goldenstein
Monroe		Israel L. Heinberg
New Orleans		David Fichman
	Sinai	Max Heller
	Touro	Emil W. Leipziger
	Julius Wise	Mendel Silber
	Gates of Prayer	Morris Sessler
Shreveport	B'Nai Zion	Abram Brill

Maryland

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Baltimore	Baltimore Hebrew	Morris S. Lazaron
	Oheb Shalom	William Rosenau Louis Binstock
	Har Sinai	Edward L. Israel Chas. A. Rubenstein
Cumberland	B'er Chayim	Carl N. Herman
Frederick	Beth Sholom	Wolff Willner

Massachusetts

Boston	Adath Israel	Harry Levi
	Ohabei Shalom	Samuel J. Abrams
Brockton	Israel	David Goldberg

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Grand Rapids	Emanuel	Philip F. Waterman

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Minneapolis	Israel	Albert G. Minda Maurice Lefkovits
St. Paul	Mt. Zion Hebrew	Leonard J. Rothstein

Mississippi

Greenville	Hebrew Union	Samuel A. Rabinowitz
Meridian	Beth Israel	William Ackerman
Vicksburg	Anshe Chesed	Sol L. Kory

Missouri

Joplin	United Hebrew	Isaac L. Rypins
Kansas City	B'nai Jehudah	Harry H. Mayer
St. Joseph	Adath Joseph	Garry J. August
St. Louis	Temple Israel	Leon Harrison
	Shaare Emeth	Samuel Sale Louis Witt
	B'nai El	Julian Miller
	United Hebrew	Samuel Thurman

NEBRASKA

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Lincoln	B'nai Yeshurun	Elihu Starrels
Omaha	Israel	Frederick Cohn

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	Beth Israel	Henry M. Fisher
Hoboken		Alter Abelson
Jersey City	Beth El	Maurice Thorner
Long Branch	Beth Miriam	Barnett A. Elzas
Newark	B'nai Jeshurun	Solomon Foster
	B'nai Abraham	Julius Silberfeld
Paterson	B'nai Jeshurun	Max Raisin
Plainfield	Sholom	Jacob I. Meyerovitz
Trenton	Har Sinai	Abraham Holtzberg

NEW YORK

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Brooklyn	Union Temple	Simon R. Cohen
	Union Temple	Louis D. Gross
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	Progressive Synagog	David Klein
	Beth Emeth	Samuel J. Levinson
	Beth Elohim	Alexander Lyons
	Bay Parkway Temple	Max Reichler
	Shaarai Zedek	Harry Weiss
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Far Rockaway	Temple of Israel	Isaac Landman
Jamaica	Israel	Aaron L. Weinstein
Mt. Vernon	Sinai	Joseph I. Gorfinkle
Newburgh	Beth Jacob	William Lowenberg
New York	Temple Peni El	Joel Blau
		Joshua Block
	Hebrew Tabernacle	I. Mortimer Bloom
	Covenant	Frederick E. Braun
	K'hal Israel	David Davidson
	Emanuel	Hyman G. Enelow
		Emanuel Gerechter
	Free Synagog	Sidney E. Goldstein
		William H. Greenburg
	Rodeph Sholom	Rudolph Grossman
	Temple Israel of N. Y. C.	Maurice H. Harris
	Ahavath Israel	Gustav N. Hausman

New York—*Continued*

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
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		George A. Kohut
	Emanuel	Nathan Krass
		Clifton H. Levy
		Harry S. Lewis
	Jewish Science	Morris Lichtenstein
		Harry S. Linfield
	Riverside Synagog	Edward Lissman
		Solomon C. Lowenstein
	Covenant	Alvin S. Luchs
		Jacob B. Pollack
	Tremont	Irving F. Reichert
		Ira E. Sanders
	Beth El	Samuel Schulman
	Emanuel	Joseph Silverman
	Institute of Religion	Henry Slonimsky
		Adolph Spiegel
	West End	Nathan Stern
	Mt. Zion	Benjamin A. Tintner
		Isidore Warsaw
	Free Synagog	J. Max Weis
	Free Synagog	Stephen S. Wise
Niagara Falls	Beth El	Abraham L. Feinberg
Pelham		F. De Sola Mendes
Rochester	Berith Kodosh	Max Landsberg Horace J. Wolf
Scroon Lake		Isaac S. Moses
Syracuse	Society of Concord	Benjamin Friedman
Troy		Adolph Rosenberg
Woodmere	Beth El	Moses J. S. Abels

North Carolina

Asheville	Beth Ha Tephila	Moses P. Jacobson
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Greensboro	Hebrew	Max Kaufman
Raleigh	Beth Or	M. G. Solomon
Wilmington	Temple Israel	Frederick I. Rypins

OHIO

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
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Canton	Canton Hebrew	Charles B. Latz
Cincinnati	B'nai Jeshurun	Louis Grossman James G. Heller
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	Bene Israel	David Philipson
	Hebrew Union College	Julian Morgenstern
		Israel Bettan
		Moses Buttenweiser
		Samuel S. Cohon
		Abraham Cronbach
		Henry Englander
		Andor Gabor
		Jacob Z. Lauterbach
		Jacob Mann
		Jacob R. Marcus
	Union of American Hebrew Congregation	George Zepin Louis I. Egelson Jacob D. Schwarz Michael Aaronsohn
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	Euclid Ave. Temple	Louis Wolsey Walter Peiser
		Joseph Jasin
		Leo Reich
Columbus	Temple Israel	Jacob Tarshish
Dayton	B'nai Jeshurun	Samuel S. Mayerberg
		Samuel J. Harris
Toledo	Collingwood Ave.	Joseph S. Kornfeld
		Charles J. Freund
Youngstown	Rodef Shalom	Isador E. Philo
Zanesville		Israel Klein

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City	B'nai Israel	Joseph Blatt
Tulsa	Temple Israel	Samuel S. Kaplan

OREGON

Portland	Beth Israel	Jonah B. Wise

Pennsylvania

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
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Altoona	Beth Israel	Solomon N. Bazell
Erie	Anshe Chesed	Max C. Currick
Harrisburg	Oheb Sholom	Philip D. Bookstaber
Hazleton	Beth Israel	Arthur S. Montaz
Johnstown	Beth Zion	Jacob Klein
Lancaster		Isidore Rosenthal
Philadelphia	Rodef Shalom	Harry W. Ettelson F. M. Isserman
	Keneseth Israel	Abram J. Feldman William H. Fineshriber
	Beth Israel	Marvin Nathan
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Reading	Oheb Sholom	Julius Frank Louis J. Haas
Scranton	Anshe Chesed	Bernard Heller
Uniontown	Israel	Harry J. Stern
Wilkes-Barre	B'nai B'rith	Marcus Salzman

Rhode Island

Providence	Sons of Israel and David	Samuel M. Gup

South Carolina

Charleston	Beth Elohim	Jacob S. Raisin

Tennessee

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Knoxville	Beth El	Jerome Mark
Nashville	Vine St. Temple	Richard M. Stern

Texas

Corsicana	Beth El	Louis Brav
Dallas	Emanuel	David Lefkowitz
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Fort Worth	Beth El	Harry A. Merfeld
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Marshall	Moses Montefiore	Emil Ellinger
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Tyler	Beth El	Maurice Faber
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VIRGINIA

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Wheeling	L'Shem Shamayim	Hyman Iola

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Racine		Milton Ellis

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Toronto	Holy Blossom	Barnet R. Brickner

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	Liberal Jewish Synagog	Israel I. Mattuck

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PALESTINE

Jerusalem	Judah L. Magnes

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